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The Shape of Things

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THERE IS LITTLE DOUBT THAT JAPAN IS planning the construction of battleships larger than the 35,000 tons allowed under the London Naval Treaty of 1930, if it has not already started to build them. The sharp request for information on this point, amounting to an ultimatum, from the United States, Great Britain, and France would therefore superficially seem destined only to irritate the Japanese. Actually this joint action of the powers has two purposes. It serves notice that the three democracies intend scrupulously to observe the forms of international law—in itself no mean purpose in a world increasingly given to lawlessness—and that they include Japan in the company of those countries whose word is not to be taken seriously. The real importance of the request, however, lies not in these moral considerations but in its intention as a threat to the Japanese. In effect it gives Tokyo a chance to reconsider before plunging the world into the most reckless naval race of all history. As a warning it has some virtue, but it has the inherent weakness of the threat technique in international relations. It either works immediately or proves as lethal to the threatener as to the threatened. Should Japan accept the challenge, American taxpayers would have the dubious satisfaction of spending millions of dollars on battleships to give them a slight advantage in a war which those very battleships would make inevitable.

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"BLACK AGAINST THE SUPREME COURT" IS apparently the theme of a new drama being enacted in Washington. Justice Black, whom many liberals expected to turn bourbon when he was safely on the court, has startled even his supporters by the uncompromising quality of his recent dissents. Those dissents—bold, sharp, and very much to the left—are likely to make Supreme Court history. For Justice Black has challenged several of the basic principles on which the court has for half a century protected capitalist interests. One is the personality of a corporation under the Fourteenth Amendment. The amendment provides that no state "shall deprive any person of life, liberty, or property, without due process of law." Clearly, it was ratified in 1868 to guard Negro rights in the South, and it was so construed until the San Mateo case in 1885, when the court accepted Roscoe Conkling's argument that the Congres-

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sional committee which framed the amendment meant to include corporations under its guaranties. Conkling may well have spoken the truth about his own intentions and those of several of his colleagues. And the court's eagerness to accept his interpretation is proof of the zeal with which it has historically made its decisions jibe with the needs of corporate power. But Justice Black is on very solid ground when he points out, in his dissent in the case involving a California tax on a Connecticut life-insurance company's premiums, that the people were told that the amendment was to protect Negroes and were never told that it was meant to remove corporations from the regulation of state governments. Justice Black's daring in challenging a rule a half-century old is so great as to shock even his liberal colleagues. But the truth is on his side. He is like the child in Andersen's fairy tale who cried out that the king was naked.

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THE PRESSURE BROUGHT TO BEAR ON THE United States Congressmen who joined in congratulating the Spanish Cortes to withdraw their names is one more instance of the blindly reactionary course the Catholics are following in America. Only a few of the legislators responded, but there can be no doubt that the pressure from the Catholic hierarchy and from Catholic organizations was enormous. The episode makes one wonder how much longer the hierarchy can continue on this course without fatally weakening its hold on its followers. For doubts concerning General Franco are evidently creeping into some Catholic minds. The February 4 issue of the Catholic *Commonweal* poses these problems: "Can Franco transform the legacy of the past in Spain? Can he restore civic virtue and civic liberty, through which can come those disciplined liberties that alone can create a truly Christian social order?" Even more surprising than the question is what follows: "The answer at the moment is almost definitely in the negative." Apparently Franco's continued bombing of women and children in the dense centers of cities is getting under the Catholics' skin. Or perhaps they are beginning to suspect that the rebels may not win and that in the end the church will have to reach an understanding with a democratic Spanish government. If the fascist leader cannot "transform the legacy of the past in Spain," the *Commonweal* might go on to inquire, why does Spain need him? And the answer, to judge by his failure to win, is simply: It doesn't.

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DESPERATE OVER THEIR FAILURE TO RETAKE Teruel, the Spanish insurgents have launched a campaign of unprecedented terrorism at sea and in the air. And in both cases they seem seriously to have overreached themselves. The sinking of two British ships off Barcelona appears to have destroyed, almost overnight, all that the Franco propagandists have achieved diplomatically in six months. For the first time since the beginning of the war Britain and France have taken immediate steps to protect their rights without regard to the possibly hostile reaction of the fascist powers. The massacre of civilians in Barcelona has similarly proved to be a boomerang. Prompted by Loyalist threats of retaliation and under pressure of public sentiment, London and Paris have made at least a start toward inducing the rebels to cease their attacks on the civilian populations of non-fortified areas. Whether Franco's fascist allies will back him in his campaign of desperation depends a good deal on the attitude of the new German military and diplomatic regime.

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PRESIDENT ROOSEVELT IS NOW AWAKE TO the existence of a railroad problem. Chairman Splawn of the Interstate Commerce Commission has announced a conference to be held this week or next at which representatives of railroad management, labor, and security holders will meet with the President and other government officials. The recent bankruptcy of the Erie and the growing difficulties of the Illinois Central and the Baltimore and Ohio have underlined the gravity of the railroad problem. After a two-year study of railroad financial practices, Senator Wheeler and his committee have established the fact that ample dirty work was done in the way of financial manipulation. They are ready for legislation, including a measure for meeting the holding-company evil. The pertinent section of the bankruptcy statute can easily be redrawn. But these are primarily changes for lawyers. The public that ships its goods and goes on journeys will be more interested in the committee's consolidation programs. For only drastic financial readjustments (what Senator Wheeler calls the "wringer" process) and rational consolidation of the railway systems can promise savings enough to protect the roads from tumbledown poverty. Bonded indebtedness will have to be written down so that the roads will not have to carry an impossible burden of fixed charges. Opposition may be expected; yet in the long run it will be better both for bondholders and for workers if the railroads are put back on their feet. A new and growing group in the brotherhoods, led by George Harrison, sees this, and will probably go along with a good consolidation plan. As for government ownership, we should oppose it at present. Why should the government want to take over a herd of white elephants?

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COMMUNISTS IN THE RANKS OF AMERICAN trade unions have become front-page news again. Reopened by David Dubinsky and given considerable currency in Roy Howard's papers by Benjamin Stolberg, the issue was played up prominently when the United Mine Workers voted to readopt their standing provision that no Communist could be a member, and when Homer Martin and several of his aides in a New York interview launched an attack upon Communists. The feeling against Communists has been part of traditional trade unionism in America, largely because American labor has not been interested in ideologies, and because the unions have always sought to avoid the question of a social

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program. Today another element appears in the attack—that of the competing Marxist ideologists who are anti-Stalinist. The accusation made by both groups is that the Communists seek to control unions only in order to further their political program and the Soviet foreign policy and that that program is not synonymous with the best interests of American trade unionism. The charge can only be substantiated or disproved by objective investigation; the evidence adduced thus far leaves us skeptical. The lull in the organizational campaign caused by the depression is allowing all sorts of factional disputes to capture the stage, but whatever the exact share of blame to be apportioned among groups in each union, we feel that the anti-Communist campaign is dangerous. There is no reason why Communists should be exempted from the eternal vigilance that trade unions must always exercise against factional struggles for control. But once you begin attacking Communists as such, your next step—as in the case of Martin's charges against Heywood Broun—is to attack progressives for "following the line." The step after that, as the British experience has shown, is to attack all progressives. And beyond that looms a reactionary trade-union movement.

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ARTHUR KROCK, WHO REPORTS WASHINGTON for the New York *Times,* has wired us, "In view of Paul Anderson's references to me in your February 5 issue I hope you can reprint in your next issue my column in the New York *Times* of February 4." While space prevents our reprinting it, we refer our readers to Mr. Krock's column. He had warmly defended the oil men in the Madison anti-trust suit on the ground that they did only what Mr. Ickes had previously encouraged them to do under the NRA. He failed to include the fact that government counsel had themselves introduced the letters concerning the NRA into evidence, and Mr. Anderson and Attorney General Cummings were quick to catch him up on this serious omission. But they in turn failed to deal with his contention that in its charge the court asked the jury not to consider the letters as evidence. Mr. Krock's argument is that he was really attacking the government's "shocking abuse of power and breach of faith" in not following a promise made in 1916 by Attorney General Gregory, who said that if business men broke the trust laws in good faith, they would be prosecuted in civil, but not in criminal, action. Mr. Krock calls the government "unbelievably unfair," and attributes its action to "a long low market in spiritual values." We have no desire to set ourselves up as experts on fluctuations in spiritual values. But Attorney General Cummings points out that he asked for a grand jury only after the oil men had sabotaged every government effort to get at the facts. This casts considerable doubt on their "good faith." While concentrating his fire on the government, Mr. Krock does manage to get in an attack on the court, and this troubles us. Usually, as befits a New York *Times* correspondent, he has cared a good deal about the judicial process. Is the situation changed when what is involved is not the Supreme Court of the United States but a district judge in Wisconsin and a jury of "small merchants and farmers"?

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GREAT BRITAIN HAS RELAXED RESTRICTIONS on foreign investments which have been in effect since the 1931 financial crisis. In doing so it follows one of the proposals of the Van Zeeland report, which in general has had a rather cool reception in London. Though no doubt this move has political as well as economic implications, it is not likely to lead to any resumption of loans to Germany and Italy. Some London bankers regard fascism with a benevolent eye, but even friendship cannot blind them to the risks of underwriting an autarchic state. Moreover, since the Treasury still claims the right of veto, it would have to be prepared to defend such investments in Parliament. The probable beneficiaries of the decision are some of the smaller powers, to whom it is a hint of Britain's ability to render financial assistance provided they don't wander too near the Rome-Berlin axis. In this connection, it is interesting to note that there is already discussion of the possibility of loans to Turkey, a country with opportunities for profitable investment and a potential ally against Italy. On the economic side the resumption of foreign lending indicates a decline in internal openings for investment as the housing boom slows down and the industrial plant needed for rearmament nears completion. An additional factor is the sharp rise in Britain's adverse trade balance. A revival in overseas investment is expected to stimulate exports while increasing the vital flow of income from abroad.

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OUR WIDE-EYED EDITOR — THERE'S ONE IN every office—is awfully curious about the mysterious illness that reached the proportions of an epidemic in the highest circles of the German army last week. Its effect is to cause the victim to be resigned (in a democracy you resign, in a dictatorship you are resigned), and it often results in a purge. Führer Hitler, who is also head letter-writer of the Third Reich, wrote to Marshal von Blomberg:

> You have often asked me to relieve you of your duties, which placed a heavy burden on your health. Now after the fifth year of the re-creation of our nation and army, I will grant your repeated request.

To General von Fritsch he wrote:

> For reasons of health you have found yourself forced to ask me to relieve you of your duties. As your recent visit in the south has not had the hoped-for effect, I have decided to grant your request.

Baron von Neurath apparently is just a hypochondriac, because to him the complete letter-writer said:

> On the occasion of the completion of the first half decade of National Socialist government you have requested me to allow you to retire. I am not able to grant this request . . . even in view of your recent sixty-fifth birthday.

This opens up alluring prospects. We have composed

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letters to a selected group which we shall try to persuade Mr. Roosevelt to sign. They read as follows:

> Dear Mr. Roper: I am sorry to hear of your illness, but it leaves me no alternative but to accept your resignation.
>
> Dear Mr. Hoover (Edgar): I cannot express my sorrow at the news of your illness. Please do not slam the door.
>
> Dear Mr. Hague: I regret that you have found it necessary on account of illness to resign from the National Democratic Committee. Please believe me when I say that I am extremely sorry for the state you are in.

Meanwhile it has just been revealed that at the height of the Supreme Court fight Chief Justice Hughes slipped the following note under F. D. R.'s door:

> You make me sick. But I'm damned if I'll resign.

Purge in the Reich

ADOLF HITLER'S latest purge answers once and for all that much-discussed question: Who controls the Reichswehr? Only now after assuming full authority over all the military forces of Germany has the Chancellor truly achieved the authoritarian ideal on which the Third Reich was founded. Today there is no important branch of the government which is not under the absolute and undisputed control and authority of the Führer. The menace of a possible monarchist revolt by the old army generals is gone forever, and with it that other ghost—a military dictatorship as a transition from National Socialism to a more democratic regime—has been laid to rest.

There was much more behind this military upheaval than meets the eye. The replacement of Baron von Neurath by Joachim von Ribbentrop is of even greater importance from the point of view of the international political situation than the removal of General von Fritsch, erstwhile commander-in-chief of the army, though the two changes have their inner connection. By this time everyone knows that von Fritsch had to go, not because, as the official spokesman of the regular army, he demanded the resignation of Field Marshal von Blomberg on account of the latter's "misalliance" with his former secretary, but because he opposed the adventurous foreign policies of the Nazi Party.

It is true that the army chiefs used von Blomberg's marriage as a pretext to rid themselves of a man who had always been regarded as Hitler's "political commissar." Von Fritsch and his associates have not forgotten that Hitler owes his control of the Reich in large measure to shrewd trickery. They know that the senile Hindenburg was practically forced to elevate Hitler to the highest political office by von Papen and his next-door neighbor von Januschau-Oldenburg out of fear that General von Schleicher would make good his threat to uncover the Osthilfe scandal. Hindenburg had made one condition—that Hitler would name a non-Nazi War Minister, thus leaving the regular army free from political interference. Adolf Hitler, the great promiser, agreed readily, and von Blomberg, who was not a member of the National Socialist Party, received the appointment. What old Hindenburg did not know, however, was that the new Minister of War had been a Nazi sympathizer for years and was an intimate friend of the Reverend Herr Müller who shortly after Hitler's accession to power became Reichsbishop of Germany by grace of the Führer.

The hatred of von Blomberg which the General Staff of the Reichswehr nursed for more than four years is the more ironic since the Marshal was as reluctant as many of them to support the foreign policies of the Third Reich. He backed up von Fritsch and his colleagues when they refused to send German soldiers in large numbers to aid General Franco. He remonstrated with Hitler and Göring concerning active support of Mussolini's rape of Ethiopia. Count von Reventlow, editor of the *Reichswart,* declared not long ago that the friends of the Russian General Tukhachevski, who was executed for high treason in Moscow, were to be found not only in high places of the Reichswehr but also "in other responsible places indirectly connected with military affairs of the Reich." In short, Hitler was probably not too sorry to see the last of his protege.

For the army heads, on the other hand, their coup in ousting Blomberg turned out to be a boomerang, since it gave Hitler a chance to dismiss von Neurath from the Foreign Office. His successor, von Ribbentrop, is said to be the only high official, besides Hitler's alter ego Rudolf Hess, who addresses the Chancellor with the cordial *du.* Röhm, chief victim of the blood purge of June 30, 1934, enjoyed the same intimacy. It is fairly well known that von Ribbentrop was sent to London in the main to acquaint himself with the Foreign Office and its workings and not, as has often been intimated, to bring about a better relationship with Great Britain. He is nobody's fool, and if he acted the bull in the china shop, it was because he had other aims than to get into the good graces of official London. As a matter of fact, the studied stupidity and impudence of his unforgettable Hitler salute at Buckingham Palace and his organization of the German Nazi forces in England through the legation staff made a protracted stay at St. James's impossible.

What does his appointment mean for the world? Probably trouble. Hermann Göring's *Essener Nationalzeitung* made this significant comment on the withdrawal of von Papen as ambassador to Austria: "At this moment the Vienna post is once again of greatest importance to the Reich." In other words, the period of peaceful penetration of Austria seems to be over. We may look forward to a new era of militant aggressiveness. The retirement of von Hassel, heretofore ambassador to Italy and reputed to be not too friendly toward the "anti-Communist" Rome-Berlin-Tokyo axis, also betokens a more militant policy on the part of the fascist allies. The telegram sent to Hitler by Mussolini and his Foreign Minister Count Ciano, and Hitler's cordial reply, admit of no other explanation. The world may soon see concerted moves by the three powers in Spain, China, Austria, Czechoslovakia, Danzig, and other danger spots.

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Little Business Revolts

AMERICAN politics is never so picturesque as when it is comic, and never so comic as when an exuberance of American energies applied to our political problems results in bedlam. That is what happened in Washington last week in the conference of little-business representatives called to advise President Roosevelt on the problems of the depression. It is doubtful whether Mr. Roosevelt or Uncle Danny Roper or anyone else in the Administration actually believed that several thousand small business men assembled in Washington would, by pooling their wisdom, be able to advance any new solutions. But neither did they count on the tumult that his invitation was to generate.

While the occasion had its aspects of high comedy, it was not wholly funny. The little business man has for so long been the goat of big business and has for so long been on the receiving end of the tough breaks of our economic system as a whole that any attempt to alleviate his plight is a matter of great moment for American life. The record of the Administration with respect to little business has been a curiously checkered one. Mr. Roosevelt's election in 1932 was largely due to the revolt of little business against Mr. Hoover's blundering policies. But the NRA bore heavily on the small business man: it was the big fellows who controlled the code authorities, the big fellows who benefited from the suspension of the anti-trust laws, the big fellows who gained from price-fixing and who intrenched their monopolistic position. Nevertheless, the rest of Mr. Roosevelt's program, notably the SEC, was intended to help the small business man and the investor even more than it was intended to help labor. In fact, if the Administration may be said to represent the interests and ideology of any one class of the population, that class is the middle class of which the small business man, the retailer, the wholesaler, the investor, the professional groups are the archetypes.

In the light of this fact, the anti-Administration temper of the resolutions adopted by the gathering at Washington is deeply significant. It will not do to brush the whole matter aside by saying that the delegates were taken in tow by high-pressure advisers from the ranks of big business. For only a group of men already well disposed toward the reactionary outlook could have been so easily sold a bill of goods by the reactionaries. The big thing that stands out as one examines the resolutions and the reports of the meetings is their confusion. The men who gathered in Washington represent what is probably the most confused group in the country. They are the prime newspaper fodder of America. They are riddled by every editorial broadside, by the hand grenades of every columnist, by the incessant machine-gunning of the radio. And they have reason for being so vulnerable. Their economic position has been undercut both by the depression and by the attempts to deal with it. They are caught between monopoly pressure and government control. They feel the burden of taxes and of higher wage rates. They look about in bewilderment for some explanation of their plight, and the only one they find handy is the melodrama in which the Administration is a band of devils presided over by Lucifer himself.

What is so disheartening about the whole affair is that the little business men have forgotten so much and learned so little during the whole decade of the depression. They still feel, when they think of the national picture as a whole, that their interests lie with big business, even though each of them knows that in his everyday economic life big business is his great enemy. They still think in compartments, as most of the rest of us do; but in their case the walls between the compartments cry to be broken down. And we must not forget that, despite the towering place that the giant corporation occupies in our life, the greater part of the nation's economic activity is still carried on by the little fellow. Sixty per cent of the nation's business is done by unincorporated business men or by corporations with assets of less than a million.

The Administration is faced with nothing less than a potential revolt of little business. This is a revolt far more serious than the revolt of the Southern bourbons or of the big city Tammanies. Its immediate results will be enormous pressure on the Administration's labor legislation and on its taxation structure. The reactionary groups in Congress will be heartened by the meeting of the small business men, and will press on with their campaign against the New Deal. What the Administration must do is twofold. It must seek immediate measures to remedy the economic position of the small business man—not through changes in labor or tax legislation, but through strengthening of their position with respect to monopolies and through easing of credit for them. Second, it must conduct a vigorous campaign of education to show the small business man that his real economic interests lie not with big business but with the economic welfare of the common man. For within the profit economy, the interests of the monopolies lie in maximizing profits by restricting production and cornering the market. But the interests of small business can lie only in an increased national production and an expanded general purchasing power.

Widening the Boycott

THE unprecedented success of the worldwide boycott of Japanese goods raises the question of whether a technique has not been discovered which can be effectively used to check the world drift toward chaos. Although the boycott has not yet stopped Japan in China, there is every indication that the Japanese drive has lost at least part of its force. For this China's stubborn defense is primarily responsible, but there can be no doubt that as its raw-material reserves are depleted Japan finds it harder to maintain its army at full efficiency. The difficulty is bound to increase as Japan's purchasing power is reduced by the boycott. American imports from Japan in December, for example, were nearly one-third less than in the corresponding

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month of the previous year. While figures are lacking in other countries, the boycott is known to be particularly effective in India, Japan's second largest market.

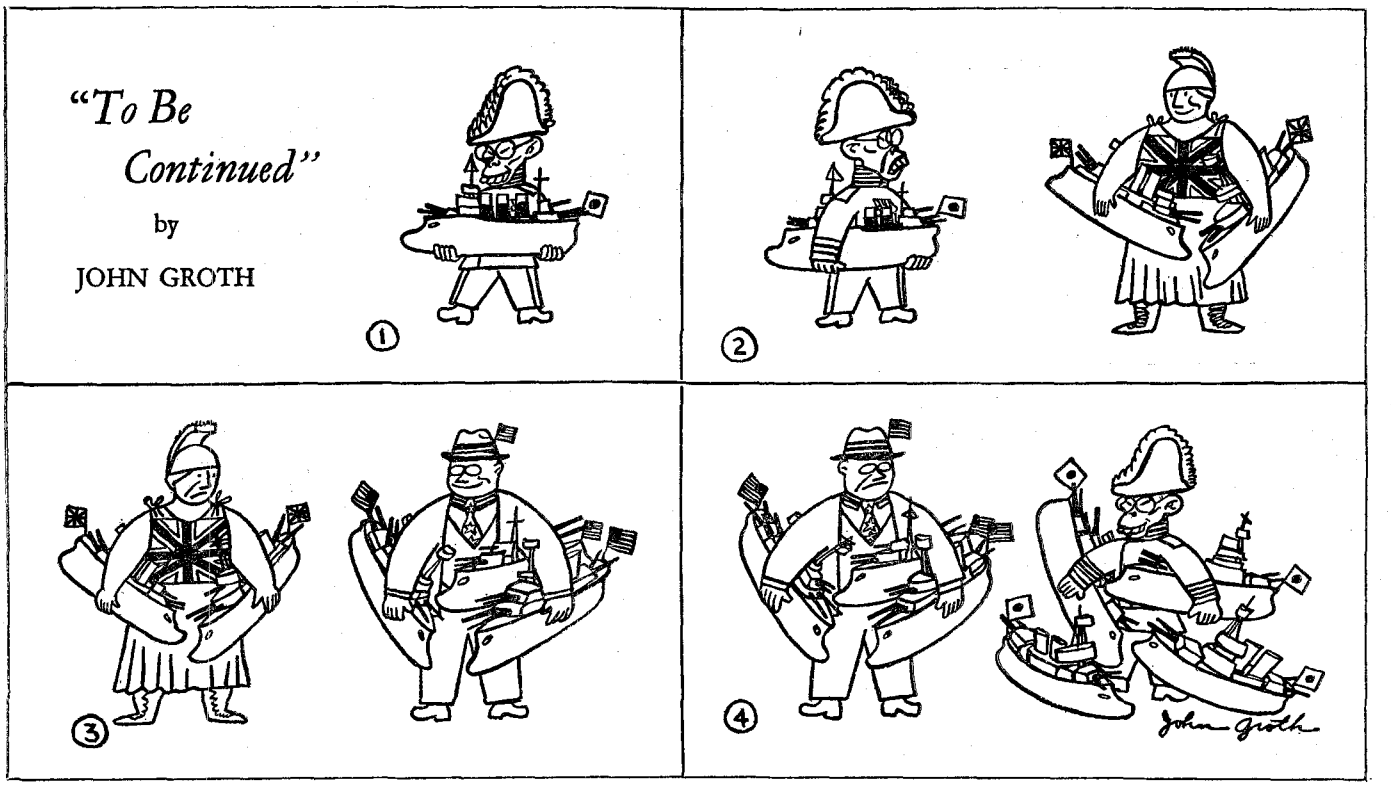
It may reasonably be asked at this point whether strict application of the boycott principle does not necessitate its extension to those powers which are engaged in aggression in Spain comparable to Japan's in China. The aggressors are leagued together; they abet one another; and all are equally dangerous to world peace. The occupation of Manchuria in 1931 in defiance of the United States, Great Britain, and the League of Nations encouraged Hitler to break Germany's international pledges. When Mussolini saw that the Führer had successfully defied the powers, he knew that he could safely undertake the crushing of Ethiopia. His success in turn led to the Italian-German invasion of Spain. And the supineness of the great democratic states in the face of the fascist menace in Spain was a sign to Tokyo that it could swallow still more of China.

Having got away with it individually, these three aggressor states combined in the unholy alliance "against the Comintern." They are allies; their strength is in large measure pooled. Japan recently signed a trade pact with Italy by which it acquired special privileges in Ethiopia. Rome has withdrawn the Italian mission which for years trained China's air force, giving "Italy's friendship for Japan" as the reason, and has publicly demanded colonies for Germany. Italy and Germany are working hand in hand against France in North Africa, and Mussolini has come out as anti-Zionist in order to plague the British in Palestine. At the recent Brussels conference the Japanese case was presented by Italy's delegate. And Germany has been trying to "mediate" its ally's attack on China.

A "Boycott the Aggressor" campaign would provide a course in international politics for the whole nation. It would educate the electorate to its responsibility for furthering the cause of world peace. It would teach the war-mongers and the isolationist pacifists that the choice is not between submission to the aggressor and war. The issue transcends the question of China or Spain or Ethiopia. What is at stake is the maintenance of law.

It is true that a boycott against Germany and Italy presents difficulties which do not exist in the case of Japan. Neither of the European aggressors is as vulnerable as the Island Empire. There is no one commodity like silk which can be singled out for attention. But both Germany and Italy are in a precarious financial situation, and both are dependent, to a large extent, on war materials from abroad. Germany's gold reserve is down to 1 per cent of the circulation of its paper currency. When Italy was recently called upon to pay $500,000 interest on bonds held in this country, it had to borrow the funds to meet its obligation at 40 per cent interest. The war industries and war adventures of these powers would undoubtedly be weakened if they were denied the foreign exchange upon which they have become dependent. A boycott is not spectacular, but it is relentless.

The question of the efficacy of a boycott cannot be separated from that of the opposition within the fascist dictatorships. In Germany important illegal groups as well as the Reichswehr are antagonistic to foreign military adventures. In Japan and Italy thousands of dissidents have recently been arrested. Any weakening of the national economies of aggressor states strengthens these anti-war tendencies and increases the influence which they indirectly exercise on national policy. A refusal to support aggressors with American dollars would be the best present we could make to anti-fascists abroad, as well as the surest protection against a world war.



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Mr. Madden and Mr. Burke

BY PAUL Y. ANDERSON

Washington, February 7

A TERMITE's life is not a glorious one, and last week was full of disappointment for those seeking to undermine the Wagner Act. The Supreme Court, still flushed and tremulous as a maid at morn over its new vision, unanimously held that a Federal District Court has no power to enjoin the administrative processes of the Labor Relations Board. That twenty such injunctions have been issued is eloquent of two things, namely, the vast scope and organized character of the attack on the law, and the low estate of judicial discretion in the district courts. On the latter manifestation Justice Brandeis commented sharply in delivering the court's opinion. The luckless brethren below have an excuse—for what it is worth. They may point out that a committee consisting of fifty-eight of the most highly perfumed lawyers ever assembled under the Liberty League tent concurred in holding the act unconstitutional. But that, alas, happened before the Supreme Court encountered a light somewhere along the road that leads to Damascus or Waterloo. The moral seems to be that free legal advice is not always cheap.

Mention of cheapness leads us unerringly to the latest ill-starred attack on the Labor Board—that launched by Senator Edward Raymond Burke of Nebraska. During the fight over the Supreme Court plan the Senator attracted the attention of the press gallery sufficiently to have the sobriquet "Throttlebottom Burke" bestowed on him, but in recent months his publicity has languished, and he set out to remedy the situation. (By many of his colleagues the Senator is regarded as being his own, if nobody else's, candidate for President.) Even Burke is familiar with the weakness of certain newspaper publishers. Accordingly, he loosed a series of blasts at the board, charging it with, among other crimes and misdemeanors, violating "the freedom of the press." He demanded an investigation and insisted that it be conducted by the Senate Judiciary Committee, of which he is a member.

The denouement took place when Board Chairman Madden appeared before the committee and proceeded to deal with the Burke charges seriatim. Before he concluded, enough material had been removed from the Senator's shirt to stuff a dozen heavy-duty Throttlebottom mattresses. I shall not dwell on the painful scene, but a few high-lights will illuminate it. Burke had charged the board and its staff with being "thoroughly incompetent." Madden showed by the record that of ninety-six injunction suits filed against the board, ninety-six have been decided in its favor; that in nearly all of the 162 cases decided by the board, the employer had contested its jurisdiction, but in no single case had the Circuit Court of Appeals held that the board exceeded its jurisdiction; and that this record was made despite the enormous difficulties of administering a new law in the complex field of labor relations. Burke charged the board with favoring the C. I. O. over the A. F. of L. Madden showed that in twenty cases where the two were in conflict before the board, the A. F. of L. won fourteen decisions and the C. I. O. six. Burke had accused the board of intimidating local public officials, mentioning the mayors of Lumberton, North Carolina, and Johnstown, Pennsylvania. Madden cited the record of evidence that Lumberton's mayor led a mob to threaten a union organizer, and asked why the Johnstown mayor, a former bootlegger, had not sought to answer testimony to the effect that during the steel strike he received $30,000 in cash from an official of the Bethlehem Steel Company.

The cases in which the "freedom of the press" was alleged to have been menaced again were those of the *Daily Press,* of St. Mary's, Pennsylvania, and *Mill and Factory.* In both instances reprints from those publications of articles attacking the unions were circulated among workers. The board simply sought evidence to show whether the employers had caused the articles to be printed and circulated in violation of the law. Madden couldn't understand why an editor who possessed such evidence should not be under the same obligation as any other citizen to appear and produce it, and neither can I. For years it has been obvious to most adults that editors and publishers who continue to invoke "freedom of the press" to cloak special privileges and immunities for themselves are doing more than anyone else to discredit and destroy legitimate freedom of the press.

Needless to say, poor Burke's little flier went into a tailspin, and at the latest sitting he was urging that the inquiry be transferred to the Committee on Education and Labor, although he had previously opposed that very move. This prompted the other Nebraska Senator, Norris, to remark on the predicament of a lawyer "who seeks a change of venue when he sees he is losing his case." One question remains to be cleared up. Was it by sheer coincidence that Burke's list of charges bore such a striking resemblance in phraseology to those recently made public by an employers' organization?

The President has now been privileged to look into the minds of the "little business men" whom he so fondly believed to be on his side, and it may be hoped that he has been properly instructed and edified. A cynic might have told him beforehand that the only difference between "big" and "little" business is one of size, but the cynic would have been wrong. The truth is that where matters of government policy are concerned the Sloans

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and Lamonts are ardent New Dealers compared with their "little" brothers. What Tom Girdler says privately about the Wagner Act was accurately reflected in the resolutions of the alley manufacturers and village merchants. For the "little fellow" halfway measures will not do. He wants lower taxes and a balanced budget. He wants the help put in its place. He wants Ickes and Jackson muzzled or, preferably, court-martialed. He wants the income tax extended to the very poor on the theory, perhaps, that quick death is a boon to the starving. If the meeting of "little men" succeeded in anything it was in demonstrating why they are little. They are actuated by the same profit motive which actuates their more successful competitors, but they do not pursue their ends so shrewdly. If Roosevelt still needed to learn that his strength lies in the support of the great majority who have no business except their jobs, this lesson should teach him.

Slightly more than a year has passed since the President's court plan was submitted to Congress, and it is hardly an exaggeration to say that the year has been wasted in a continuous filibuster. The Senate fight on the plan was a filibuster which consumed nearly all of last session. Virtually nothing was accomplished during the special session, and the present session to date has been wrecked by the filibuster against the anti-lynching bill. This failure to function is akin to that which led to the overthrow of democratic governments in Europe, yet the very people who are quickest to yell "dictatorship" at the Administration are the same ones who find much to praise in the conduct of a Congress which has been an example of ineptitude and futility. What they are doing is to aggravate the very danger they profess to fear. By hamstringing Roosevelt's efforts to achieve such domestic reforms as governmental reorganization and wages-and-hours legislation they supply him with new reasons for adopting an aggressive foreign policy—a course in which he requires little encouragement. All of which is thoroughly characteristic of the complicated stupidity of the opposition. When they wake up to find themselves waving flags and calling on the rest of us to "stand by the President" they won't even stop to wonder how they got that way.

Shadow Over Canada

BY E. S. McLEOD

Ottawa, Ontario, February 1

"I MAKE bold to say on Canada's behalf that there is no country in the world where there is a more complete acceptance of the democratic principles of government or in which they are more thoroughly exemplified." So spoke John W. Dafoe, the C. P. Scott of Canadian journalism, in the course of his Julius Beer Foundation lectures at Columbia in 1934. If made today such a statement would be glaringly false. Canadian democracy and the civil liberties upon which it must be founded to survive are under bitter and open attack. In three of the nine provinces the minatory shadow of fascism is spreading across the land.

In Alberta Premier Aberhart, showing that temperamental sympathy with dictatorial methods which is so common among social-credit enthusiasts, has enacted legislation giving the government life-and-death powers over all newspapers. This attack upon the liberty of the press has met with legal obstacles and will not become effective unless and until it is approved by the courts. Such approval is most improbable, and in any case Aberhart and his fantastic following are likely to be relieved of office before any serious damage can be done. But the support that his repressive actions have received is a most ominous development—three years ago public opinion would have swept from office any administration suspected of concocting such plans.

In eastern Canada the situation is more serious. In Ontario, the largest and economically the most important of the Canadian provinces, Premier Mitchell Hepburn has just been placed in office for a second term. As all readers of the New York *Herald Tribune* and the Hearst press will recall, "Mitch" was the Horatius who held the bridge and thus saved Canada from John L. Lewis, Homer Martin, and their "Communist" hordes at the time of the General Motors strike in Oshawa. His raucous threats against these "foreign agitators" and his loudly expressed scorn of President Roosevelt's temporizing attitude toward the C. I. O. brought Hepburn enthusiastic acclaim from the Rand-Girdler-Weir type of American. In his October election campaign, moreover, they won him a wide measure of support from the more timorous, gullible, and ignorant voters.

Hepburn is well on his way to becoming a Canadian Huey Long—as the Bible-shouting radiorating Aberhart might be likened to Father Coughlin. Although subject to bouts of illness, Hepburn is young, ambitious, and not hampered by education or by highly developed sensibilities. While loudly professing sympathy for labor—in the best fascist tradition—he has made it quite clear that he has no intention of allowing freedom of association to Ontario workers. He is already playing with the idea of licensing unions, and just before the election he unceremoniously fired the only two members of his Cabinet who were known to be sincere and practicing liberals. When one of them, ex-Attorney General Roebuck, was reelected with the second largest majority in the province, Hepburn refused to admit him to the party caucus.

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Having solidified his position in Ontario, Hepburn is now flirting with the church-ridden politicians of Quebec with a view to strengthening his coming bid for national power, for without the support of Quebec his chances of invading the seats of the mighty at Ottawa are very slight. Unfortunately it looks as if the deal with Quebec might be successfully arranged. For Quebec has gone far along the road to fascism, and needing help in the national field, will find in Hepburn's Ontario the most congenial ally. Fascism in Quebec is based on race, economics, and religion, and the greatest of these is religion. Under the direct leadership and inspiration of a branch of the Roman Catholic church that can be compared for obscurantist policy only with the hierarchies of the more primitive states of Latin America, the politicians of Quebec are directing a campaign against "communism" which is destroying every liberty for which French Canadian as well as British Canadian patriots have worked, fought, and died. The events of 1837 appear to have been completely forgotten in Quebec.

The situation in the French province can only be understood if certain fundamental facts are clearly recognized: (1) The population is 80 per cent French and Roman Catholic, and the standard of living is very much lower than in any other province. (2) The educational system is entirely antiquated by all modern standards and is chiefly designed to keep the people ignorant of those ideas that might conceivably weaken their faith in the rule of the church. (3) The most powerful individual in Quebec is Cardinal Villeneuve, the head of the Roman Catholic church, a sectarian bigot of the most reactionary type. The power of the Cardinal is publicly advertised by the fact that he has a "throne" in the Legislative Assembly in the city of Quebec, where he sits on an equality with the lieutenant governor, the political head of the state. (4) Almost all the big industrial and financial institutions of the province are controlled by English Canadians, with the result that the half-educated French Canadian country lawyers, doctors, teachers, and small business men can claim with some justice that they and their fellows are being exploited for the benefit of the English. In general, big business has retained its political control by subsidizing corruption. (5) French Canadian nationalism has been growing rather than decreasing in recent years. The idea of an ultimately independent French state on the banks of the St. Lawrence has by no means been relinquished. This nationalist movement is encouraged by carefully cultivated complaints against English-speaking Canada founded on conflicts in the realms of language, culture, religion, and economics. (6) Even among French Canadians there is some opposition to the ultramontane policies of the church and state, but it is meager and cowed. Some critics find consolation in the belief that the extreme conservatism of the present rulers may hasten revolt against the theocratic regime.

When the corrupt Liberal government of Quebec was overthrown in 1935, a new party known as the Union Nationale took office. This party had campaigned on a platform guaranteed to build up in the province and city of Quebec a social and political organism in which the Roman Catholic religion, the small business man, and the French race would be in complete and absolute control. The party leader, Maurice Duplessis, ranged the province from one end to the other denouncing the Liberals for their subservience to Ottawa and to the "fat trustards" of St. James Street (the Wall Street of Canada). The Union Nationale Party was earnestly supported by most of the leaders of the church, who hoped M. Duplessis would be a more useful tool than his more experienced predecessor, M. Taschereau, had been.

Having won the election, M. Duplessis, under the skilful handling of the financial potentates, soon removed the "trust-busting" planks from his platform. His hobnobbing with his erstwhile enemies became so notorious that he finally issued orders forbidding the publication of press photographs showing him in amicable colloquy with certain representatives of the "interests." In order to distract attention from this change of front and at the same time to please the church, the new government began a tremendous campaign against "communism." This soon became a great success. The "Communists" in Canada, among whom Cardinal Villeneuve and his friends include everyone to the left of—to use an American analogy—the Roman Catholic Justice Pierce Butler, are predominantly English-speaking, Protestant, and somewhat better off economically than the French Canadians. Thus the attacks upon the Communists have won enthusiastic general approval and almost unanimous press support in Quebec because they unite racial, economic, and religious prejudices in a single campaign. In the excitement of this crusade of hate the iniquities of big business have been forgotten. The church, of course, has no objection to monopoly capitalism and can be trusted to make its own deals with the "trustards."

The most definite legislative step so far taken to implement the anti-Communist program is the enactment of the "padlock law." Premier Duplessis admitted in the legislature that this law was "suggested" to him by Cardinal Villeneuve. Under its terms the Attorney General can, without judicial authority, order the padlocking of the houses or offices used by "Communists." Neither the act itself nor the authorities have ever defined "communist" or "communism." Nevertheless, the law has already been enforced in some fifty cases, and the government has declared that it will be applied more widely still in the near future.

One of the first of the civil liberties to go down in this campaign was freedom of speech. A year ago the Spanish delegation which toured America was prohibited from speaking in Montreal, and the students of the Catholic University of Montreal demonstrated in appreciation of the ban. In October, 1937, a Communist deputy from Paris, Alfred Costes, visited Canada and was booked to speak in Montreal. A deputation of 200 University of Montreal students called at the office of Mayor Raynault and threatened to cause a riot at the meeting if it were held. This gave the Mayor the pretext he sought to ban the meeting, as "it might lead to disorder." He

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admitted quite frankly that he was delighted to have this "legal pretext," and it has been openly charged that he instigated the students to make the threat. He also announced that he would continue to ban all such meetings, and he praised the students for their threat of illegal action.

When protests were made by the Civil Liberties Union (predominantly English-speaking of course) and others, Cardinal Villeneuve rushed to the support of the Mayor. Having denounced all supporters of such "equivocal novelties and liberatarian systems," he continued:

> Freedom of speech, I am for it, but let it be among decent people, not among imbeciles and brigands. . . . Would you let sufferers from contagious diseases poison the air you breathe? . . . That is why I approve the resistance which has just been made in the metropolis to Communist meetings. . . . I praise the youth which aligns itself to protect social order. . . . I encourage all public men who in this respect do their duty. . . . If it is argued that this is contrary to law I reply that before law there is the law of nature. . . . Well, to defend ourselves against subversive doctrines, against spiritual poisoning, against the overthrow of the foundations of civilization, against the dynamite which would blow up our religious, family, and social traditions, if that is not the law, let that law be made. . . . Under pretext of respecting a morbid democracy, people wave at us the specter of an illusory fascism, and meanwhile the enemies gain a foothold and make a mockery of our judicial scruples.

When the head of the religious organization to which 90 per cent of French Canadians belong, and to which they owe and usually pay instant and unquestioning obedience, not only condones but encourages the illegal use of force to suppress civil liberties, the future of democratic government can hardly be considered secure.

Complaints against the government's tyrannical acts have been completely unavailing. The authorities state quite frankly that they intend to violate the rights of freedom of speech, of assembly, of the press (the newspaper *Clarté* was "padlocked") just as often as necessary to stop subversive propaganda. Premier Duplessis, moreover, has complained bitterly because the federal government at Ottawa has so far refused to cooperate "even when invited" to join the crusade by "the highest civic and religious authorities." Apparently the Dominion government is not yet ready to take its orders direct from the Catholic church.

In the industrial world a drive is on to bring the workers of Quebec into the anemic Catholic unions. Going even farther than "Mitch" Hepburn, Duplessis has in practice banned C. I. O. unions in the province. He made it very clear that such unions would not be recognized as "bona fide" within the meaning of the Act Respecting Workmen's Wages, under which collective-labor agreements may be juridically extended. Not being so recognized, C. I. O. unions cannot claim any rights or privileges extended to labor organizations under Quebec statutes. Duplessis has also declared that his government will not permit closed shops. The Catholic unions were organized under church auspices, have a priest as chaplain to every local, and do nothing without church guidance. In other words, they are almost completely useless as labor organizations, though good agencies for the dissemination of clerical instructions.

As might be expected in such an atmosphere, active and recognized fascist groups have been organized in the cities of Montreal and Quebec. One organization claims 80,000 members, and some hundreds of its more enthusiastic recruits are reputed to be drilling regularly on the banks of the St. Lawrence. So far these groups have received little direct official assistance, but in the present temper of the people and government that may come sooner than most persons expect. Here again the attitude of the church is of vital importance. What this attitude is has been clearly expressed in the columns of *l'Action Catholique,* the mouthpiece of the Quebec hierarchy:

> At every moment we hear noisy denunciations of fascism and of different systems which use popular force to bring order and progress to society. We admit, for our part, being passably *indifferent between democracy and fascism,* provided that our society takes hold of itself and sees the peril which menaces our civilization; provided, in other words, that an end is made to this inconsistency of Christians who denounce communism and who, nevertheless, fight it much more weakly than any other Christian political adversary [italics mine].

The natural and logical steps for the shamefully exploited workers of Quebec to take would be to join the radical labor movement of the rest of Canada. So far very few have shown themselves ready to do this. The religio-nationalist propaganda of their rulers has been successful in keeping them isolated, and the glowing words on social justice of the Encyclicals of Popes Leo XIII and Pius XI have offered them hope. Almost completely uneducated (there is no universal compulsory education in the province of Quebec) and unaware of the objectives and achievements of labor elsewhere, the workers of Quebec cannot be expected to distinguish the false hope from the true. A small nucleus of intelligent radicals does exist, but its membership is as yet too restricted and too timid to be effective.

The real danger of fascism on a national scale in Canada will come with the next depression, which is being confidently predicted for 1939-41. By that time reaction in Quebec and Ontario may be expected to be well established and organized. Negotiations between Hepburn and Duplessis will probably have produced a working agreement, and Mackenzie King will be leaving the national stage. Now Mr. King has many shortcomings. Too much of his energy since he entered public life has been devoted to holding his ear to the ground. As a procrastinator he is unique, supreme. But he is a liberal. The Gladstone-Laurier tradition is his finest inheritance. There is not the least doubt that he is personally revolted by what is happening in Quebec and Ontario, and both provincial governments have complained bitterly that Ottawa has not supported them in suppressing "subversive" influences. But Mr. King is too much of a politician and too handicapped by his habits and tempera-

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ment to make any overt effort to stop the spread of fascist doctrines in the provinces. It would be political suicide for him to disallow the anti-democratic legislation of Quebec as he has not hesitated to disallow certain social-credit bills in Alberta. So long as he is in office, however, Mackenzie King will not allow the "corporatism" of the Encyclicals with its medieval accompaniments to invade Parliament Hill, and the Dominion authorities will have no direct hand in destroying civil liberties.

If, as is possible, Mr. King retires before the next election, a crisis will have been reached in Canadian affairs. He will take with him or be preceded into retirement by Ernest Lapointe, Minister of Justice, among the last of the authentic "Laurier Liberals" of Quebec. The stage will then be set for the Hepburn-Duplessis drive for national power, and no one can say they will not get it. When that day comes Canadian refugees will have to organize a new underground railway into the United States. But perhaps it will have happened there as well!

Labor Governments and Sabotage

BY ERNEST DAVIES

London, January 15

EVENTS in Russia have accustomed us to sabotage. Emerging from its hiding-place in the dictionary, the word has made the front page in the newspapers. But whereas in Russia sabotage by persons in opposition to the government is condemned and is punishable by death, in America and Western Europe, though called by other names, it has succeeded in wringing concessions from the government and even in obtaining its capitulation. From the day Franklin Roosevelt was elected President of the United States, American capital has been guilty of sabotage; in France the sabotage of speculators and financiers brought about the downfall of Léon Blum. Wrecking of government plans and obstruction of reforms through non-cooperation or active opposition are the natural tactics of capitalists when they face any encroachment on their prerogatives.

If the capitalists employ these methods to oppose even a mild form of progressive government, they will certainly use every weapon at their disposal against a genuinely Socialist administration. Which raises the question: Will they be able to prevent a Labor government from carrying out its program? This is the problem which challenges the advanced political parties in Europe today, particularly the Labor Party in England.

The British Labor Party, being the official opposition in Parliament, looks forward to becoming again the responsible government. Since it is historically a Socialist party, its long-term policy is the supplanting of the capitalist system with a socialist economy. But because of the rise of fascism and the resultant eclipse of the Social Democratic parties in Central Europe, it recognizes that its immediate task is to assure the continuance of democracy in England, and in planning a program it has had to keep this object to the fore. The choice appeared to be between advocacy of socialism and a policy of reform. The former would invite active opposition from the capitalists; the latter would stave it off. As the quickest way to power, therefore, a policy of moderate reforms was adopted for the new short-term program at the 1937 conference of the party. An extremist program, it was argued, would give capitalists the opportunity of raising scares as they had done before, and would thus bar Labor's success at the polls; a reformist program would contain as much as any government could reasonably be expected to accomplish in its first term of office. The program is accordingly confined to the nationalization of the Bank of England and of the coal, transport, and power industries, a planned agriculture, and the provision of increased social services. Foreign policy is based on the revival of the League of Nations and loyalty to the collective-security system.

The Labor Party Executive, which was responsible for drawing up this program, believes that such moderate reforms could be carried out without stirring up the active opposition of capitalists. But the events of 1931, the maneuvers which brought about Blum's fall, and the recent attacks upon Roosevelt, all provide evidence to the contrary. Sabotage must be expected. The question is: Will a Labor government in England be strong enough to overcome it? There are two ways of dealing with sabotage, and the one chosen depends on whether the government is strong or weak, well or badly led. The weaker way is capitulation; the stronger is resistance. The former entails concessions and sacrifice of principles; the latter, attack and risk of defeat. If a Labor government adopts so moderate a program that control is left in the hands of the capitalists, defeat is almost certain.

The key to power in all capitalist countries is the banking system. On the amount of credit available depends the prosperity of the country, the level of wages, and the standard of living. At the heart of the credit system is the central bank. In Britain the privately owned Bank of England is the central bank. Its governor for many years has been Montagu Norman, a gentleman who played no small part in England's post-war financial policy and in the events which led to the downfall of the Labor government in 1931. The government took advice then from the Bank of England instead of the Bank of England going to the Treasury for commands. In 1931 world events favored capitalist maneuvering to turn out the Labor ministry. Undermining of foreign confidence

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was the line of attack; as foreign balances in London were exceptionally large, their quick withdrawal was certain to threaten the exchange rate of sterling. London's "hot money" was a real danger owing to the freezing of English loans abroad. Increased national expenditure, a rapidly growing budget deficit, an increasingly unfavorable trade balance, all could be used to make foreigners nervous. The *Times* ran a series of articles on England's plight by André Siegfried. A Committee on National Expenditure published a report calling for drastic economy. The press in its columns and the politician in his speeches exploited this to the full. The effect was immediate. Funds were withdrawn, sterling was threatened, and only temporary loans from abroad could save the gold standard. Such loans could only be negotiated for the government by the privately owned Bank of England. The capitalist had the Labor government where he wanted it. He could now dictate his terms, and he did. The Cabinet was told by the Bank of England that loans would be granted only if drastic economies were carried out. Needless to say, these economies included cuts in the social services and reduction of the dole. Capitulation meant betrayal of the workers who had put the Labor government in office.

Normally the alternative to accepting the capitalist terms would have been resignation, but in this case the capitalists were working for something more than a change of government. They were playing high for the destruction of the Labor movement. They demanded a "national" government to save the country, with Labor's leader, Ramsay MacDonald, at its head. It was believed that this step would so split the movement that it would be a long time before another Labor government would be possible. The maneuver succeeded, and only now is the Labor movement recovering from the shock of the betrayal.

The Labor Party remembers 1931 and now puts in the forefront of its program the nationalization of the Bank of England. It proposes to buy out the shareholders and run the bank as a public corporation governed by a board appointed by the government. This would not only prevent a repetition of 1931 but enable the government to institute that policy of expansion which it would need to finance its program. Rehabilitation of the distressed areas, slum clearance and rehousing, and public works will require considerable capital expenditure, and no Labor government will leave the bulk of such financing to private enterprise. Here the Labor government, bound over to moderate reforms, proposes to stop. It intends to exercise a certain measure of undefined control over the financial machine through the Bank of England, but fearful of scaring the electorate, it asks for no more. Is it enough? It is certainly enough to invite sabotage, but it is by no means enough to prevent sabotage being effective. And the capitalists' reaction is likely to be similar to that which brought about Blum's fall. Blum controlled France's central bank but not the other banking institutions. Speculators in exchange were still able to obtain all the credit they needed to lead an attack on the franc. As long as only the central bank is controlled and other financial institutions remain independent, capitalists will be in a position to sabotage.

In England the banking system is in the hands of five joint-stock banks, known as the "Big Five." Each has a nation-wide branch-banking business, and together they virtually monopolize the deposit banking of the country. Through these banks the credit policy of the central bank is made effective. At the Bank of England the joint-stock banks have their accounts. Their deposits there are the equivalent of the reserves of the member banks of the Federal Reserve system. The practice has been for the joint-stock banks to extend credit to the extent of ten times their deposits at the Bank of England. This tenfold ratio is not legally fixed, and there is no compulsion on the joint-stock banks to adhere to it; they do so partly as a matter of custom and partly because it works well in practice, the interests of the Bank of England and the joint-stock banks not yet having run counter to each other. When the Bank of England has followed an expansionist policy, the joint-stock banks have followed suit and vice versa. But imagine the situation that might arise if their interests were in opposition. The Bank of England following a policy of expansion might be faced with the joint-stock banks calling in loans and refusing additional credits just at the time when it was desirable that they should be granted. When the Bank of England increased credit, the joint-stock banks might decrease it. Here is a weapon of sabotage in the hands of the joint-stock banks which only complete control can eliminate.

Nor is this all. The English joint-stock banks, like American banks, hold a vast quantity of government securities. If they wished to embarrass the government they could start unloading these securities and depress their price. While the government could support its market for a time, the continued liquidation would ultimately send up the cost of government borrowing and undermine confidence. This would be most embarrassing to a Labor government obliged to borrow not only to finance its welfare schemes but to be able to take over the industries which it proposed to nationalize.

Moreover, a fall in government credit leads to a slump on the Stock Exchange. And a collapse in Stock Exchange prices not only makes the raising of capital difficult but dries up the new-issue market and prevents capital expansion. Further, a weakening of government credit, collapse of prices, and destruction of confidence would lead to the withdrawal of foreign funds from London. The withdrawal of these in 1931 played a part in bringing about the abandonment of the gold standard. Once this point was reached, export of capital on a large scale would be inevitable, and the pressure on the sterling rate of exchange and the effect on trade would be felt.

Defenders of the reformist policy advocate leaving the joint-stock banks unnationalized, asserting that there are ways of controlling them if they fail to cooperate. But measures of control instituted after sabotage had started would come too late, for any control of the exchanges, a ban on the export of capital, or similar action in defense of the currency would be a sign of weakness and add to

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the danger. To run the risk of non-cooperation on the part of the joint-stock banks is to invite the capitalists to destroy the Labor government in its early days. That there would be sabotage is certain from the constitution of the boards of directors of the joint-stock banks. On the boards of the Big Five are some 149 directors who serve on no fewer than 1,040 boards of other companies, including all the important industrialist undertakings of the country. The opposition of the members of these boards to a Labor government is assured by their education, their family ties (no fewer than thirty are peers of the realm and another thirty-two have titles), and their industrial interests.

If sabotage is inevitable, what hope is there of a Labor or Socialist government's succeeding? Such a government will be able to accomplish its ends only if it realizes at the start that the cooperation of capitalists cannot be expected. Immediately on obtaining power it must forestall a maneuvered panic by assuming complete control of the financial machine. It must nationalize the banking system as a whole and control foreign exchange. To prevent a strike either of capital or of the producers it must make it clear that any such sabotage would be answered by swift government action even to the extent of acquiring any industry concerned. Reform and compromise have destroyed Labor governments in England. They played their part in bringing the Weimar republic to an end, and in ousting the Socialist Blum from the premiership of France. A Socialist government must employ different tactics to succeed. It must take the power to sabotage out of the hands of the capitalists before it even starts to implement its program.

Composers in Revolt

BY MINNA LEDERMAN

THERE is a story going the rounds that Igor Stravinsky was recently asked by Radio City Music Hall to tack a happy ending on his ballet "Petrouchka." "Certainly," he cabled, "for $10,000." Now M. Stravinsky is no mercenary, but America has made him cynical. For in this country a "serious" composer—native or European—may conduct an orchestra, give lectures, write criticism, teach counterpoint, talk on the radio, or stage plays, and be well paid. But let him ask money for his music, and he will find it almost impossible to collect.

The law of course says otherwise. Copyright "protects" him on the sale and public performance of every piece, whether it is a little violin nocturne or a grand opera. The sale of published music, however, has been reduced to unimportance by records and radio, and when a composer demands performance royalties, he runs into difficulties. Arrayed against him in a united front are radio's program arrangers, all the soloists touring America from coast to coast, the women's clubs, the festival managers, and even the highly respected symphony societies. "Give us your music," they say, "for next to nothing, or nothing—or else." Which means there are plenty of works by men long dead that can be had free.

The composer who is thus challenged has been under a severe handicap. The writer of a song or dance hit will be able to collect royalties if he joins the American Society of Composers, Authors, and Publishers, which gives effective protection in the popular field. A playwright can count on a minimum percentage of box-office receipts if he is a member of the Dramatists' Guild. A European collects on any piece of music performed abroad if he belongs to his nation's protective society. But up to a few months ago this country had developed no all-inclusive union to guard the rights of "serious" composers.

Now at last, however, the victims are rising up to shape their own destinies. On December 19, 1937, a group of leading young Americans, among them Aaron Copland, Virgil Thomson, Douglas Moore, Roy Harris, and Roger Sessions, called a meeting of their colleagues at the Beethoven Club in New York, and proceeded to organize the American Composers' Alliance, whose first objective is "to regularize and collect all fees pertaining to the performance of copyrighted music." The importance of this move can hardly be overemphasized; for a parallel one must go back to the early steps taken by Victor Herbert and his associates in the formation of ASCAP. After the briefest survey of current practices in the matter of royalties, anyone will concede that action was long overdue.

The composers' demands are far from being exorbitant. Take "Petrouchka" again. The suite arranged from this ballet is one of the most popular in modern orchestral repertory. Performance rights, plus the rental of the score and about a hundred parts, come to only $75. That is the fee to first-rank orchestras; others can get the suite for $50, since royalties are scaled to capacity to pay. Yet in the course of a season this much-admired work will be presented only once or twice by two or three leading organizations; other orchestras are deterred by the price. But when the suite is played, the conductor will probably get between $500 and $2,000 for his "interpretation," the concert manager about $300, and the owner of the hall about $500. M. Stravinsky divides his $75 among the publisher, the agent, and himself.

And this figure of $75 is tops. It is the price of a few spectacular works by Stravinsky and Strauss. Sometimes for a "première" $150 is charged, but the same orchestra then pays only $50 each for the second and third performances. The more usual sum is between $35 and $25,

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tapering off to $10 or less. For Ravel's "Bolero," an international hit, sometimes only $5 has been paid. Radio royalties for a nation-wide broadcast are usually double the symphonic; even more is asked for a commercial program. Yet "Bolero," nearly done to death on the air, is known to have gone on for $10. As for the "small rights"—songs, violin and piano pieces, trios, and the like—no one even tries to collect on them.

Among Americans few composers have sufficient prestige or courage to demand $50 for the performance of a symphony. Not long ago a publisher asked the Philharmonic Orchestra of New York to pay $40 in royalties for the first presentation of a work by a young composer. "Royalties?" said a member of the management. "Why your Mr. X should be paying us that $40." In 1931, when its budget amounted to nearly a million dollars, the Philharmonic performed a work by Abram Chasins with Toscanini conducting, but couldn't afford to pay the composer a single penny.

But it is in the world of radio that economy reaches extravagant heights. On January 8, 1933, the Columbia Broadcasting System was to send the Philharmonic program on the air over a nation-wide hook-up. A feature was the première of a suite from Strauss's new ballet "Schlagobers." Just before the broadcast, however, it was decided not to pay the radio royalties Strauss demanded. So with the opening bars of the Strauss number the invisible audience was eased out of Carnegie Hall into the C. B. S. studios for a "fill-in" of light music, then wafted back to Carnegie for the rest of the program.

A more brilliant example of radio finesse is the experience of Stravinsky when on February 3, 1935, he conducted the General Motors hour over the network of the National Broadcasting Company. Now all the world knows that Stravinsky is in demand as a conductor because of his fame as a composer. He is most interesting when he is interpreting his own works; so naturally he included three of these in his program. But that would mean $500 in royalties! Quickly therefore radio's masterminds substituted one number by Tschaikowsky (free) and another by Glinka (also free), leaving only "Petrouchka," at $150. But for his single hour on the air Stravinsky as conductor received a fee of $1,750.

Let us look at Americans' royalties. For many years the N. B. C. Music Guild Series drew heavily—without paying—on works brought out by the non-profit-making Society for the Publication of American Music. Early in 1936 the society decided to ask a $25 royalty. At once came a protest from radio officials, which brought the price down to $10. Twenty works were listed at this price, but in 1936 not a single one of the twenty found a place on the Music Guild programs.

Perhaps one cannot yet expect radio to recognize the importance of creative artists. But what shall be said of such penny-pinching by the old, established orchestras? In the depression of 1932 symphonic societies in their appeals to the public for support promised severe economies. Prominently listed for the ax were—as you may have guessed—composers' royalties. To anyone familiar with the figures the idea of thus balancing the budget was intriguing. During the two previous seasons the Philharmonic, with annual appropriations at an all-time high of $900,000, had spent just $3,500 on performance and rental fees! The budgets of the Philadelphia and Boston orchestras were a little less and their royalty expenses perhaps a little more. An estimate of one-half of 1 per cent of the budget for royalties would be high for any organization in the country.

This was the figure the managers proceeded to reduce, and now the level is lower than it was ten years ago. As late as 1936 the Stadium Concerts in New York, with an appropriation of $180,000 for fifty-six programs, allotted only $600 to royalties. The Cleveland Orchestra advised guest conductors engaged for the Great Lakes Exposition that no money was available for performance rights.

The conductors themselves are sometimes caught between the lines of battle. Most of them want new works, but since the management bears down on "extras," they are happy to get them for nothing. The composers, however, have two notable champions—Koussevitzky, who is benevolent and encourages them to ask for fees, and Stokowski, who likes novelties and believes in paying for them.

We come finally to the operatic field. Here royalties are recognized, but they are hardly payment for value received. Famous works can be had for less than $500, except for a first night; $200 is a good sum for an American piece. Yet if a dramatist's minimum rate were applied against the receipts of a sold-out night at the Metropolitan, the royalty would be $1,200—a sum that couldn't be asked even for "Salome."

Some comprehensive system of taxing performance is obviously required for the entire field, and that is exactly what the ambitious new American Composers' Alliance has undertaken to work out. A technique of policing and collection may not be developed overnight, for the situation bristles with intricacies that demand the most careful adjustment; but there is always the example of ASCAP, pioneer in a much more complex field, where piracy once prevailed on a grand scale. The composer of "serious" music already has the law on his side. He needs only to secure its enforcement.

Mormon "Security"

BY MARTHA EMERY

NOT since the old polygamy days have the Latter Day Saints made the headlines as frequently as they have in the last eighteen months with their program to take 88,000 Mormons off the dole. Cries against federal spending have everywhere been vociferous and unending, but the only project organized solely to free Americans from the burden of government relief, and advertised as such, has been the Mormon Security Plan. "No man should ask for charity from the government," declared the Mormon president, who is reputed to have a finger in banking, insurance, real es-

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tate, mining, and industry and an ear cocked to a short-wave set tuned in to heaven. "I am sorry that some of our men would not work for $30 a month when they could get $35 by lying down and being lazy."

Although it ridiculed federal work projects, the church attempted to solve the unemployment problem among Mormons by creating projects of its own. These varied from coal mining and sugar-beet raising to temple-clothing manufacture. Publicity agents found no difficulty in selling the story. Conservative magazines and newspapers in America not only publicized but glorified the undertaking. Yet in spite of twenty months of propaganda, the creation of 700 projects which run practically without administrative costs, and an expenditure of more than half a million dollars amassed from voluntary donations, there are today in Utah 32 per cent more workers on WPA projects than in the nation as a whole, 45 per cent more in the CCC, 50 per cent more in the NYA, 175 per cent more receiving student aid, and 60 per cent more in the PWA. Skeptics are asking, "What has the church been doing?"

The answer is a simple one. The church is getting an incredible amount of favorable publicity and at the same time, far from endangering its solid financial structure, is actually the gainer from the security plan. This success has resulted from three lines of action. First, the church limited the number eligible for relief by forbidding members to give up WPA jobs for church aid. In addition, it guaranteed work only to those "who have been faithful in the payment of fast offerings and tithing and in living unspotted from the sins of the world." Second, by invoking the rich and thickly sentimentalized tradition of its pioneers, the church drew from the cupboards, closets, and pocket-books of its 541,000 "stake" members over half a million dollars in addition to regular tithing, as well as 200,000 quarts of fruits and vegetables, 364,000 articles of clothing, 24,000 pounds of meat, and considerable quantities of flour, grain, sugar, lumber, potatoes, wool, hay, and coal. Third, it actually pared down its relief expenditures from the amount required in the worst depression years. In 1934 and 1936, before the Security Plan was launched, church relief sums dropped 31 per cent and 21 per cent, respectively, from the 1931 level. In the first year of the Security Plan, though there were extra donations and a much-vaunted tithing increase, relief expenditures were only $544,000, as compared with a $594,000 average for the former six years.

Only one significant increase was reported in all church expenditures. The building program was increased by $500,000. This would appear a useful work project until one learns that the wards, or parishes, were forced to raise an additional $513,000 in order to get the original grant, that union wages were for the most part denied to the skilled laborers, and that a considerable portion of the labor was donated by ward members who were assessed a specified amount of free labor as well as cash. And the total sum was $100,000 less than the church spent for building in 1930.

The voluntary labor and donations have come in large measure from the most pious Mormons, the poorer classes, who are already heavily taxed. Let us look at the situation of an average Mormon, say Nils Neilson, a convert emigrant from Sweden. For twenty years Nils has faithfully parted with $100 out of his $1,000 annual wage. He has also contributed freely to the maintenance of his chapel, and has paid a monthly "fast offering" and annual dues to auxiliary church organizations—never to a labor union, for the church frowns on them. He has paid genealogy experts to discover members of his lowly family tree so that he can perform rituals for their salvation in the temples. Every spare penny has gone to support his eldest son, who for three years will be preaching Mormonism abroad—in Czechoslovakia perhaps, or Tahiti.

Until lately Nils Neilson was content. The more he gave the more devout he grew. The church is a vested interest, attachment to which is fostered by its exactions. Nils's dividends have been the "countless blessings" which have flowed from the seat of the Most High. But three years ago he was laid off and became dependent on the WPA. Now the sermons on Sunday night make him uncomfortable with their derision of government relief, their pleadings for new contributions and payment of an "honest tithe."

Are the secure and wealthy Mormons likewise uncomfortable before the pulpit solicitations? Perhaps. But there has been little overt protest from any class to the new demand for increased offerings and free labor. To all appearances the Saints have accepted it without complaint, without understanding its social implications or that it was an ultra-conservative gesture of withdrawal into the old isolation which in the past was a major source of the church's strength. Nils, however, cannot be the only Mormon who is beginning to realize that his heavy contributions have materially lowered his capacity for saving and investing, and for tiding himself over unemployment. The fact that in 1935 there were proportionally 25 per cent more Mormons than Gentiles on relief in Salt Lake County is an indication of the serious depletion in personal resources resulting from the church's exactions from its members, for they cannot truthfully be said to be less thrifty or industrious than are their Gentile neighbors.

Without doubt the Mormon Security Plan won the support of the Saints because the Mormon gospel, to its believers, is the full plan of salvation, the only complete way of life. There have been minor squalls in some communities, such as the resentment aroused over the sugar-beet project, which seemed to be a deliberate church effort to break the farmers' strike against the price offered by the church-owned beet factory, but irritation has been soothed by the glowing press accounts which are read from the pulpits on Sunday night.

Now at last, however, the Mormon preachers, be they politicians or business men, have reason for worry. Federal relief is being curtailed. The heavy hand of economy is reaching toward the Great Basin. The Mormons have been preparing for the day of want. The day of want is upon them.

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Issues and Men

BY OSWALD GARRISON VILLARD

A VETERAN reader of *The Nation* has just asked me: "Do you really think that such men as President Roosevelt, Secretary Hull, and Norman Davis want war?" To this my reply is, "Of course not." They really feel that the United States is peace-minded and wants to keep out of war. But they belong to the school which says, "I am for peace, but—." In other words, they contemplate the contingency that Japan by its attacks upon our nationals and its insults to our honor may "compel" us to go to war. They emphatically believe, with Theodore Roosevelt, that "there are worse things than war." What is even more important is that this school of thought appears to believe that the only way to check the Japanese is by rattling the saber and threatening them and the other dictators abroad by increased armaments—we shall have the greatest navy on the globe if we give in to the navy people and build, as Mr. Roosevelt has just suggested in his appeal to Congress, a "two-ocean fleet."

The trouble with this policy is that it is the road to war; as I have so often pointed out, threatening the other fellow leads to immediate reprisals and an armament race which brings on war, precisely as the naval race between Germany and Great Britain was one of the causes of the World War. What was the reaction in Tokyo to the President's message asking for a larger army and navy? Here is what the Tokyo *Asahi* says about it, disputing President Roosevelt's assertion that the American program aims solely at self-defense:

> There is no reason for American expansion at this moment, when no country is challenging or preparing to challenge the United States. It is unthinkable that any American nationals, wherever they may live, are exposed to such danger as necessitates the enormous estimate of $800,000,000 for defense.

That is the simple truth. The *Asahi* adds that the Vinson bill embodying the Roosevelt program will obligate Japan "to enlarge her building program." The *Nichi Nichi,* another influential newspaper, declares that "Japan must take counter-measures." As these newspapers could not take such an attitude without government consent, we may accept these statements as showing the reaction of the highest Tokyo officials.

That is the way it always happens. We raise the ante and Japan responds, and then we go her one better, and the vicious circle continues until one day there is a spontaneous conflagation, and the good and kind men, like Franklin Roosevelt and Secretary Hull and Norman Davis, wonder how on earth it could have happened and feel so sad that thousands of American boys must be "liquidated" in early manhood because they, these good and kind men, could see no other way to save us than by piling up the munitions and armaments which made the explosion inevitable. Of course they don't want war, but they have learned nothing from our experience in 1914-17. They have forgotten how Woodrow Wilson headed preparedness parades carrying an American flag, and assured his countrymen that increasing our army and navy then would keep us out of war—the slogan on which he ran for reelection. Why, even Calvin Coolidge saw the truth when he said (October 6, 1925), "We know and everyone knows that these old [military] systems, antagonisms, and reliance on force have failed." And he was wise enough to add, "It is not our purpose in our intercourse with foreign powers to rely upon the strength of our fleets and our armies." It all reminds me of the cynical saying of my good friend Lincoln Steffens, who used to declare that the trouble with the world was that the good men were the bad men and the bad men the good men!

Next I must point out, in order to be wholly just to friends with whom I disagree with such reluctance, that they conscientiously feel that their policy alone will keep us at peace. A minor official with whom I talked in Washington not long ago admitted that increasing our navy *might* lead to war but insisted that if my policy and that of the peace movement were followed, we should *inevitably* drift into war. So there you have the direct conflict of policy and belief. The trouble is that the advocates of preparedness are still thinking in terms of the old-fashioned diplomacy which brought about the World War. They still talk about "national honor." If anybody should ask them why we should not withdraw our ships and sailors and troops from China, I suppose their answer would be that that would be an ignoble act.

Well, they might so interpret it, but I will bet fifty to one that the American people and the press of this country are overwhelmingly against our going to war with Japan, and perfectly willing to face the charge of being cowardly rather than to commit the crime of 1917 over again. They know that we should come out of the next war with far greater moral and material losses than we suffered the last time. One thing is certain: the armament boosters won't take me up on this bet, for they are absolutely opposed to creating any machinery which would enable the American people to register their will about sending their sons to die abroad. They want to reserve that power to themselves, and they dislike all of us who tell them the truth—that no small group of men, in office or out of office, is wise enough to have in its hands the power of life and death over American youth and over the American Republic.

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BOOKS *and the* ARTS

INNOVATION AND COLLECTIVE TALENT

BY HARRY LEVIN

WHAT'S new, and just how new it is, the reviewer is the last person to find out. He is fairly safe, although sometimes wrong, in assuming that there is nothing new under the sun. Certainly he has small reason to expect new writing from new writers. Originality takes a long time to achieve and a longer time to detect. The most original of the hundred and thirty-odd contributors to these five collections of neoteric novelty* died in 1924. To any discovery there is an overwhelming proportion of wasted experiment. But literary experiment has a significance of its own, as an index to the vitality of older ways of writing and a weather-vane for the winds of doctrine. New faces, old expressions. New signatures, yet the handwriting looks familiar. New caravans, armored and mobilizing. New country—Spain.

Five years ago, when new writing was newer than it is today, some new English writers, who may be collectively designated as Stalky & Co., provided a splendid fanfare. Fanfares are what they have been providing ever since. So much of their time has been spent performing in public that they have never learned the distinction between being contemporary and being up-to-date. Their work does not actually participate; it casually alludes. They approach the past in terms of "1066 and All That," and their sense of the present is not much more profound. Life appears, not as integrated experience, but as precarious generalization. England, through their eyes, becomes a Lilliput, full of miniature railways and toy workhouses and cut-out power stations. Have they led their generation out of the Waste Land only to wander through a slightly industrialized Never-Never-Land?

The answer, when we appeal to the rank and file of their movement, is no. The two most recent volumes of "New Writing" waste no words on manifestos but get down to the grim business of documentation. These new writers are not seeking a short cut to the universal; all their energies are concentrated on gaining access to the particular. "I am a camera with its shutter open, quite passive, recording not thinking," writes Christopher Isherwood. "Some day all this will have to be developed, carefully printed, fixed." Even as observation, compared to E. M. Forster's notes on the Paris Exposition, there is much that is immature and undiscriminating. Contrasted with Ignazio Silone's crafty fable, "The Fox," there is no such thing as organization. The sole criterion is honesty, and the only pattern is that implied by the attitude of the author. This is best stated by a twenty-two-year-old poet, H. Mallalieu:

> He is aware of our own land, its downs,
> The rusty chalk of long-neglected quarries;
> His ear's familiar with the noise of towns,
> His brain absorbed by purely English worries.
> He has seen the star-shot lake
> And the startled heron take
> Its frightened wings above the sandy marsh.
> It is not the fabric but the flag which he denies.
> He knows our histories and our apathies and the harsh
> Fact that they are lies.

English men of letters have escaped from their genteel tradition before, but never by a technique of extroversion. The proletariat—always one of those products in which England leads the world—have figured as objects of literary charity or picturesque clods or cosmic pawns or highly competent satyrs, but seldom as human beings. The rich and the poor are two nations, as Disraeli perceived, and they speak different languages. It is something new for a public-school accent to assimilate the dialect of Derbyshire mines or Whitechapel sweatshops. In a suggestive sketch, The Power of Words, André Chamson describes the upsurge of his native *langue d'oc* against the pressure to "talk French." This renewed impetus toward the local and the vernacular implies a changing conception of culture, no longer a hothouse growth but rooted.

If all the world went native, there would be a confusion of tongues, a multiplication of regionalisms. ***Partikularismus,*** however, is hostile to nationalism and friendly to internationalism. These contributions, including the Urdu, are different sectors on the same line. John Sommerfield and Alfred Kantorowicz recount their adventures in Spain, while Rafael Alberti sings of America. There is a silly symphony by Jean Giono, "The Corn Dies," and a shrewder version of that theme by Ben Field. Since the editor, John Lehmann, has just published a travel book on the Caucasus, special interest attaches to his Soviet contributors. They are no Jove-defiers, but they are honest to the point of cynicism. The Road to Affluence, by Pantaleimon Tchikvadze, depicts a recalcitrant peasant who is sold the collective idea by the superiority of galoshes to bast shoes, and is left dreaming of automobiles. Morale, by Nikolai Tikhonov, is a tale of a military commander who fakes an attack to keep his detachment from disintegrating.

The prose in these volumes should be read, as Dr. Johnson read metaphysical poetry, because it contains use-

* "New Writing, Spring 1937." Edited by John Lehmann. Alfred A. Knopf. $2.75.

"New Writing, Fall 1937." Edited by John Lehmann. Alfred A. Knopf. $2.75.

"New Letters in America." Edited by Horace Gregory. W. W. Norton and Company. $2.

"New Directions in Prose and Poetry, 1937." Edited by James Laughlin IV. New Directions. $2.50.

"The Writer in a Changing World." Edited by Henry Hart. Equinox Cooperative Press. $2.

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ful information. The verse can be read for its own sake, although it too involves questions of idiom. Louis MacNeice's set of sapphics, June Thunder, is unique, both in its distinguished craftsmanship and its lack of social relevance. This proves nothing, of course, except that perfection is more easily attained within small compass. W. H. Auden, seeking a wider scope, invariably dilutes his effects—on the principle that *vers de société* becomes poetry when you spell it with a big S. His attempts in the rhythm of "Frankie and Johnny" or "Saint James Infirmary" are awkwardly condescending. Francis Cornford's lines on Kirov recall the metallic aptness of Landor, but they do not solve the problem of finding a mode of address for poetry which can be popular without being merely conventional. Stephen Spender, in two speeches from his new play, comes nearer. This time his kind of exhortation goes beyond Whitman to the late Elizabethans for a free blank verse that lends itself to grandiloquence and an imagery that exploits tradition while rejecting it. *Vide* Peter Blume's Eternal City:

> Civilization which was sweet
> With love and words, after earthquakes
> Terrifies; architraves
> Or flowering leaf of the Corinthian capital
> Momently threaten; then fall
> In marble waves on life. What was
> The fastened mouth of the live past
> Speaking in stone against the cloud, becomes
> Our present death.

To turn to the recent American miscellanies is to enter a more sophisticated realm, where sincerity and pedestrian competence are less evident, but where successes and failures are more conspicuous. The slice of life has been our literary staple for so long that we are willing to watch new writers go to almost any lengths in their arrangement of materials. We are inoculated against the heavier ironies of circumstance, and an English contributor to Horace Gregory's volume, John Hampson, only bores us with his conscientious account of what goes on behind the stairs in a grand hotel. With William Phillips and Philip Rahv, we demand a higher imaginative level of writing. But their critique, Literature in a Political Decade, would be more helpful if it showed an awareness of literature beyond this decade or a little patience with the immediate problems of the writer.

The writers themselves are quite realistic in their efforts to transcend realism. Eleanor Clark, in Call Me Comrade, imparts a Katherine Mansfield touch to a *New Masses* theme. I. J. Kapstein, in The Man in the Jail Is Not Jesus, compresses a devastating range of implication into a guileless narrative. Elizabeth Bishop, in The Sea and Its Shore, does a neat job of engraving the Lord's Prayer on the head of a pin. The strict economy of these stories, the contrast between selection and accumulation, is underlined by James Agee's modernized scenario of "The Fall of the House of Usher," which—in spite of some memorable shots—gets blurred. Parable needs a sharp focus. At the other extreme it tries to signify too much by too little, and then it is sheer oracle. And why are Rimbaud and Kafka being asked to preside over our new writers, when the great tradition of American symbolism—Poe, Hawthorne, Melville, Emily Dickinson, Henry James, T. S. Eliot—is so available?

If the English seem less enterprising in the techniques of fiction, we have much to learn from them about the method of verse. Our major mode has been public speech, conceived in a spirit of promiscuous self-dedication, a *collage* of extrinsic images and undigested emotions. Many of the poems in this book include elements of fresh observation and genuine feeling, yet few function as organisms. Even Muriel Rukeyser's elaborate allegory, The Cruise, has a worked-up atmosphere and reads like an article in *Fortune*. Frederic Prokosch's Return from the Picnic makes one regret that there is no prize for the worst poem of the year. Richard Eberhart and Robert Fitzgerald stand out because of their sense of responsibility to their craft.

"New Directions" makes its appeal on archaeological and sentimental grounds. The wit of Cocteau's *Mariés de la Tour Eiffel,* in English, sans scenery, sans music, sans choreography, is all too imitable, and so—in the cold light of the morning after—are most of the old-fashioned non-Euclideans whom Laughlin has exhumed: Gertrude Stein and her coloratura stutter, E. E. Cummings and his archy-the-cockroach typewriter, William Carlos Williams and his ecstatic exercises, Gorham B. Munson and his pontifical bull. It is comforting to know that these venerable and well-loved figures now have a suitably rococo old actors' home, full of false perspectives and vistas that lead nowhere, where they may rehearse their favorite roles and live again their triumphs.

Literary self-consciousness does not necessarily involve a preoccupation with form. The task of Cummings and his generation was to take poetry apart, and the hope of the new generation is to put it together, but here are the same old *disjecti membra poetae*. Here, more demurely, are the stylized echoes of Francis Fergusson and the sleazy banalities of Merrill Moore. Here is an ambitious poem by John Wheelwright, with Jim Crow shrouded in classical dress. Here is the editor, a social-crediteer, insisting that poets can be as useful as monetary reformers. Language, he has discovered, is fraught with associations; so experimental writers, by verbal dissociation, are challenging the tyranny of words and averting disaster. Which is tantamount to the proposition that bartenders can be trusted to eradicate the curse of drunkenness.

Even here, in this hotbed of *rive-gaucherie,* the native's return seems an inescapable fact. Laughlin's own verse is pretty folksy, La Stein—now in her rocking-chair period—celebrates Dan'l Webster, and Lorine Niedecker is shyly articulate about the progressive movement in Wisconsin. Henry Miller, in his walks around Montmartre, remembers names, "everything American coming up in a rush," from American Can to the Banks of the Wabash. Montagu O'Reilly, billed as a Chicago financier, remains the only intransigent surrealist, and he achieves his most dazzling effect by introducing Lenin as a butler. William Saroyan's stories are feeble because his stream of consciousness is utterly uninteresting, but he can get fresh and thumb his nose convincingly. Delmore

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Schwartz's stories are the most arresting in the book. He writes well and contrives better, but where he really needs insight he tends to give way to exhibitionism.

Problems of writers are not the same as the Problem of the Writer—to judge from the record of the congress in New York last summer. There is no known correlation between the energy and volubility manifested on such occasions and what it takes to produce literature. Delegation is meaningless, since every writer has different criteria of professional skill and no writer is entitled to represent anyone except himself. The slogan of a cultural front raises the inevitable political question: front for what? Certain large issues can be, and were, satisfactorily dramatized by this ritual—the plight of literature in fascist countries, special problems of Latin America, the Negro. Two of the speakers, Newton Arvin and B. A. Botkin, out of a practical knowledge of literary history and folklore, were able to make acute comments on "the sort of native cultural consciousness without which . . . a true internationalism is impossible." Kenneth Burke did card tricks.

Henry Hart's argument against waste in America and Albert Rhys Williams's case for planning in Russia are more conclusively applied to publishing than to writing. The writer can afford to take nothing for granted; he must find out for himself. He must not kid himself into the notion that attending congresses and accepting slogans will bring him any nearer to reality. "A writer's problem does not change," Ernest Hemingway told the delegates. "He himself changes, but his problem remains the same. It is always how to write truly and having found what is true to project it in such a way that it becomes a part of the experience of the person who reads it." Oh, Mr. Hemingway, you make everything so simple!

The Dream

BY LOUISE BOGAN

O God, in the dream the terrible horse began
To paw at the air, and make for me with its blows.
Fear kept for thirty-five years poured through its mane,
And retribution equally old, or nearly, breathed
through its nose.

Coward complete, I lay and wept on the ground,
When some strong creature appeared, and leapt for
the rein.
Another woman, as I lay half in a swound,
Leapt in the air, and clutched at the leather and chain.

Give him, she said, something of yours as a charm.
Throw him, she said, some poor thing which you
alone claim.
No, no, I wept. He hates me. He's out for harm,
And whether I yield or not, it is all the same.

But, like a lion in a legend, when I flung the glove
Pulled from my sweating, my cold right hand,
The terrible beast, that no one may understand,
Came to my side, and put down his head in love.

BOOKS

Wonderful Woman

THIS PROUD HEART. By Pearl S. Buck. Reynal and Hitchcock. $2.50.

MRS. BUCK'S first "American" novel bears, naturally enough, certain resemblances to her Chinese novels. The style is rapid and constant to the point of monotony, the story keeps always a significant end in view, the people are here for a purpose, and Mrs. Buck herself bothers with nothing except the very largest, the "universal," forms of human behavior. "The Good Earth" and the books which followed it benefited by all this, since they had generations to sweep through and a remote country to conquer; their manner was the best that could have been found, as indeed their popularity proved. But "This Proud Heart" had much to lose by the manner, and the loss has in fact been suffered. The famous style, employed upon a different range of subject matter, becomes what it never was before, breathy; and the concern with big themes teases Mrs. Buck into the first shallowness of her career.

Her heroine, Susan Gaylord, is clearly intended to seem a great woman and what is more a great artist, but the most that she becomes is a tiresomely wonderful woman and an incredibly "creative" worker in marble. I put quotation marks around creative because they belong there in this case, and because Mrs. Buck has sung the wonders of Susan's spirit at so incessantly high a pitch as to achieve what I hear as a misleading falsetto. Susan is the kind of person from whose center a tide of creative vitality flows out like electricity, thrilling and warming the arms, the hands, and issuing almost at once in perfect works. These works may be suppers, lace curtains, children, or—at the piano—Sibelius; in the higher reaches, however, they are marble figures done deftly in a matter of months (not years, as with Michangelo) and done scarcely at all with that sort of labor which makes the creative activity a dull one to watch—one, actually, not to be watched at all, since there is nothing to see. There are, of course, months (or years) of chipping, but Mrs. Buck hurries over those in her eagerness to convince us that Susan labored somewhat as God did on the sixth day. I find this blasphemous, with respect both to God and to art, and understand only too well the habit Susan had of overwhelming people—her two husbands, put here for the sole purpose of being overwhelmed, and a procession of other persons who have as little reality as Susan herself.

No novel by Mrs. Buck would be without value, and this one has its generous, its moving moments. But Susan is not to be believed; or if she is, then creation is a more trifling thing than we ever thought it, and glibness is eloquence. Perhaps the plainest sign that she does not exist is her failure to bestow life upon those about her. Her parents, her sister Mary, her husbands, her children, her father-in-law, her teachers, her servants are in a singular degree uncreated—Mary, for instance, occurring merely for the sake of a contrast Mrs. Buck wants to state, and the children having been brought into the world so that one of them may be found to resemble his mother. As for the statues, we have to be sure Mrs. Buck's assertion that they have life. But "The Good Earth" was more than an assertion.

MARK VAN DOREN

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Uruguay's Progressive Epoch

UTOPIA IN URUGUAY. By Simon G. Hanson. Oxford University Press. $3.50.

SIMON G. HANSON'S book, "Utopia in Uruguay," is a solid but uninspired account of the vast social-reform program of José Battle y Ordonez. The volume is overweighted with information about the administrative and budgetary aspects of the various state organizations, and its analysis of the broad social and economic forces shaping the Battle program can only be described as fragmentary. But Mr. Hanson has succeeded in compacting a great deal of valuable information into a small number of pages, and his evaluation of the general economic effects of the Battle reforms is competent if not exhaustive.

The progressive program which transformed Uruguay between 1905 and 1933 had two main components. State capitalism was extended to greater lengths than in any other country in this hemisphere. Parallel to this was social-security and labor legislation which antedated even the Mexican national revolutionary movement.

How could a program of this sort originate in a backward, agrarian country? Hanson mentions the relative weakness of the Catholic church, the racial homogeneity of the population which precluded a caste society similar to that of Peru, and the political backwardness of the conservative landlord class. The chief factor in the Uruguayan economy, he points out, was the preeminent position of a few British and American corporations and the dearth of native industrialism. Piecemeal nationalization appeared to be the sole practicable alternative to unbridled exploitation by foreign capital. The labor movement had broad support, because it served as a battering ram against the profit rate of foreign industry. "From the point of view of the national economy," wrote one of Battle's chief disciples, "a wasteful administration by the state is always preferable to the efficient management of an industry by foreign capitalists." Government control could appeal to nationalists as well as socialists, for it prevented the draining of industrial profits to foreign countries.

Battle refused to admit either the necessity or the advantage of class struggle, but none the less enthusiastically supported trade unionism. "Every strike is justified and it would be ideal if all could be successful," he wrote as early as 1908. "Since the all-important matter is that the time be opportune, let the state help by keeping the workers informed on conditions in various industries, markets, availability of strike-breakers, and the technique of labor organizations abroad."

Hanson's book is largely devoted to a discussion of the separate measures comprising the Battlista program. The nationalization movement covered commercial, mortgage, and insurance banking, public utilities, railroads, meat refrigeration, and petroleum and alcohol production and distribution. For the most part these government concerns were remunerative, and in fact labor criticized the tendency to sacrifice long-range programs of social value for immediate profits. Hanson cites the attacks on the electricity trust for its failure to service interior towns at low rates.

Battle won his nine-year fight for an eight-hour-day law in 1915. Five years later Uruguay introduced accident insurance, and this was followed by old-age, retirement, and unemployment insurance. Agricultural labor got a minimum-wage law, but its enforcement was "dependent on the good faith of employers." The Battlista theory that the pension system would reach actuarial equilibrium was rudely shaken by the great depression. The number of pensioners increased rapidly while receipts from earmarked taxes drastically declined. With collapse threatened, President Terra succeeded in organizing a successful coup, repressed the Battlistas, slashed pensions and wages, and short-circuited the democratic movement.

Hanson's volume, unfortunately, leaves the unwary reader with the impression that Terra is continuing in Battle's footsteps. To be sure his regime has taken a few forward strides in the development of government enterprises. But economics cannot be rigorously separated from politics. The Battlista movement was pro-labor and democratic; the Terra administration is pro-fascist and dictatorial. This inevitably changes the direction of the state's mechanism of economic control.

NATHANIEL WEYL

The Totalitarian Tide

DICTATORS AND DEMOCRACIES. By Calvin B. Hoover. The Macmillan Company. $1.50.

IN THIS book the author seeks to show the kinship of the German, Italian, and Russian dictatorships and thereby to revise and amplify some of his earlier conclusions respecting National Socialism and Bolshevism. He says that when he wrote "Germany Enters the Third Reich" he was aware that his conclusions were far different from what they would have been had he not already written "The Economic Life of Soviet Russia." He had been "tremendously struck by certain psychological similarities between the National Socialist and Soviet regimes." And he concludes that "if I had written the two books in reverse, I might just as well have thought of the Soviet Communists as a kind of National Socialists."

The author considers the similarity between the three dictatorships from three standpoints: (1) their encroachments upon private property; (2) the conditions that gave rise to them; and (3) the use of terror.

The encroachments upon private property of the respective dictatorships are viewed by Mr. Hoover on the basis of a revised version of Marx's theory of surplus value. While believing that the logic of orthodox economics has destroyed the theory of surplus value as a part of a tenable explanation of market price, he thinks that "surplus value as an explanation of the structure of income distribution remains, for practical purposes, a robust and virile idea." According to this Hooverian approach to surplus value, "any income which is not founded upon the need of the recipient and which is greater than that required to bring forth socially necessary exertion" must be considered property income whether this income is derived from physical and mental efforts or from ownership of property. On the basis of this definition Mr. Hoover concludes that while private property is non-existent in Russia, the Soviet state has gradually permitted the return of the private receipt of surplus value. In Russia the differentials in income, both monetary and non-monetary, seem to be increasing and cannot be justified as income socially necessary for productive efficiency. Thus the Soviet state, without private property, is reviving the essential inequalities characteristic of capitalist economy. On the other hand, in fascist states the regimentation of business and industry has surpassed mere interventionism, although private property has not been actually abolished. Under National Socialism the power of the party apparatus and the government machinery over business and industry is steadily increasing. Furthermore,

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through government control of investments, price-fixing, compulsory contributions to the party, and the control over the uses for which income from property can be spent, the National Socialist regimes have diverted income from one industrial group to another. Thus it would appear that while the Soviet state is introducing some of the essential features of capitalist economy, the National Socialist states, by making heavy inroads upon these essential features, are changing the character of capitalism.

It is rather difficult to understand the logic which enables Mr. Hoover to reject Marx's theory of surplus value from the standpoint of the theory of prices but at the same time permits him to use it from the standpoint of the distribution of income. According to Marx, labor is the only "socially necessary" cost and therefore the only *real* cost of production. All above this he designates surplus value, which is appropriated by capitalists and landowners. This labor-value principle is one of the main philosophical pillars of Marx's system of economics. But when he looked at the problem of value from the standpoint of business accounting, he said that the only cost the capitalist recognized was the money cost of production, or the "expenditure of capital." Marx never contended that his labor-value theory explained the daily fluctuations of market price. He did contend that the empirical validity of the labor-value concept was established *in the long run* by the interaction of market forces. It is only by a spurious eclecticism that one can reject the empirical validity of the concept and still make empirical use of its counterpart, surplus value, in analyzing the distribution of income. It is this specious reasoning which prevents Mr. Hoover from penetrating surface similarities to see the fundamental difference between National Socialism and Bolshevism.

No Marxist can sanction the economic and social distinctions that the Stalinist bureaucracy has inaugurated. And no one reared in the tradition of democracy, be he Marxist or merely a liberal sympathizer with the objectives of the Russian Revolution, can with clear conscience condone or justify the mass murders, exiles, and persecutions of Stalin's regime. Nevertheless, the Russian Revolution, unlike the German and Italian, has destroyed private property in the means of life. And in its attempt to reorganize society on a new pattern of life it has erected new social ideals and values, the most dominant of which is the idea of proletarian equality. The very fact that there is underground muttering and stifled dissatisfaction because this ideal is being repudiated in practice and because democracy in the Communist Party itself has been supplanted by the authority of one infallible leader is the most hopeful sign of the transitory character of the present reaction. It is in terms of the new principles of social conduct created by the Russian Revolution that Marxists inside and outside Russia condemn the Stalinist bureaucracy and hope to produce change. But National Socialism has created no new values or ideals in terms of which the struggle for human progress can be carried on. It can therefore only be fought on the grounds of its brutality and feudal character.

Formerly Mr. Hoover looked upon the German and Italian dictatorships as the handiwork of reactionary capitalists faced with the collapse of their system. He now believes that while this is the way in which both capitalists and Marxists would like to see the situation—of course, for reasons that differ according to their respective class biases—the interpretation is belied by the facts. One of the common conditions, we are told, that made dictatorship possible in each country was the ruling class's loss of confidence in itself. The governments that fell lacked the necessary "dynamism" for survival. The other condition was Marxism. In Russia Marxism overthrew the ineffectual bourgeois democracy of Kerensky and established the dictatorship of the proletariat. But in Italy and Germany a relatively strong middle class, frightened by the prospect of a proletarian dictatorship and its own annihilation, which Marxism decrees, erected another kind of anti-capitalist dictatorship under the aegis of Il Duce and Herr Hitler. The dictatorships thus established in the three countries are non-Caesarian in character. For they rest upon mass support rather than upon the personal prowess of the dictator. This mass support is in each case reinforced by terror.

The view that the present dictatorships are the products of reactionary capitalists, we agree, is all too simple an explanation. It is not, however, as Mr. Hoover seems to think, the explanation that Marxists have given of the situation. Having thrown overboard his former "naive conclusions," Mr. Hoover now submits an explanation of the collapse of parliamentary government in Germany and Italy which, indeed, is not an explanation but rather a superficial and partial statement of the facts of the case. He simply repeats what Eduard Meyer stated some years ago, "Die Kultur lebt sich selbst aus." The question to be answered, however, is, "Why does a culture live itself out?" Or why does a ruling class or government lose confidence in itself at one time and at other times resolutely crush the slightest threat to its rule?

The question, we think, is to be answered only on the basis of Marx's class theory of society. The validity of this theory has not been destroyed by the abdication of the capitalist class to Hitler and Mussolini any more than it was destroyed by a similar abdication of the capitalist class in France during Marx's lifetime. Frightened by the economic collapse and by the demands of a weak but irate proletariat, the French bourgeoisie in 1852 took refuge in a "strong central government." As Marx put it:

> The French bourgeoisie . . . recognized that all the weapons which it had forged against feudalism could have their points turned against itself; that all the means of education which it had created were rebels against its own civilization; . . . that all the so-called civil liberties and instruments of progress were menaces to its own class dominion, which was threatened alike at the social base and the political apex.

This mental attitude of the French bourgeoisie in 1852 was historically duplicated by the German and Italian bourgeoisie in 1930 and 1922. It is substantially the attitude only recently exhibited by our own Liberty Leaguers, who, to protect property, would destroy civil liberty and those democratic rights which have been the bulwark of private property.

Marx did not base the rise of the July monarchy merely upon the willingness of the French bourgeoisie to transfer its power to a dictator. There were other important factors in the equation of class forces. First, there was the urban proletariat, which by virtue of the immaturity of economic circumstances lacked the necessary revolutionary decisiveness and the resourcefulness to carry through a fundamental political and industrial reorganization of society. Secondly, there were the petty bourgeoisie and the slum proletariat, which furnished the dictator with mass support. Marx attributed the action of the petty bourgeoisie, our contemporary middle class, to the modality of its thinking determined by its intermediate position between the capitalist and proletarian classes.

> Eternally tossed about [wrote Marx] between the hope of entering the ranks of the wealthier class and the fear of being reduced to the state of proletarians or even paupers . . . this class is extremely vacillating in its views. Humble and crouchingly submissive under a powerful feudal or monarchial gov-

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> ernment, it turns to the side of liberalism when the middle class [the capitalist class] is in the ascendancy; it becomes seized with violent democratic fits as soon as the middle class has secured its own supremacy, but falls back into the abject despondency of fear as soon as the class below itself, the proletarian, attempts an independent movement.

No one, not even the most fanatical of Marx's present-day disciples, would for a moment contend that he foresaw fascism. Marx was a revolutionary thinker in the social sciences, not a St. John of the Apocalypse. But it is only by following the general lines of his analysis of social change that fascism can be understood and fought. Of course, the mechanical interpretation of his ideas to which his critics and many of his followers are addicted can only reduce Marxism to a set of sterile formulas. ABRAM L. HARRIS

DRAMA

The Case of Erskine Caldwell

THE novels of Erskine Caldwell have received more than respectful attention in literary journals, but for some reason or other dramatizations of those same novels have been greeted with an uproar difficult to understand. So far as I can remember I was almost the only reviewer to praise "Tobacco Road" or even to remain articulate while discussing the subject; and the recent production of "Journeyman" (Hudson Theater) was the signal for an outburst in which certain of the critics of the daily press seemed determined to outdo one another in the effort to discover some sufficiently forceful way of saying that this was, without any exception, the worst play ever produced on Broadway.

That "Journeyman" should have created strong feeling is not in itself surprising. Even if it be judged by the broad standards of the present moment it is a violent and bawdy play which makes no apologies, either sentimental or otherwise, for its violence and bawdiness. Anyone who denounced it as lewd and perverted would be taking a position understandable enough if not necessarily justified. But to treat the play as it was treated, to speak as if it were the mere meanderings of an illiterate, is to exhibit a blindness difficult for me to comprehend. I should have said without hesitation that its imaginative force was the one thing no one could possibly miss—if critics with whom I commonly agree were not anxious to advertise that they do miss it completely.

Mr. Caldwell is said to think of himself as a realist with a sociological message to deliver. If that message exists I fail to find it very clearly expressed in the present play, and I am by no means sure that the characters in it are not monsters rather than men. But there is no use discussing what a work of art means or whether or not it is "true to life" unless one is convinced that the work "exists"—that it has the power to attract and hold attention, to create either that belief or that suspension of disbelief without which its "message" cannot be heard and without which the question of its factual truth is of no importance. And to me the one incontrovertible fact is that both Mr. Caldwell's novels and the plays made from them do in this sense "exist" with uncommon solidity, that his race of curiously depraved and yet curiously juicy human grotesques are alive in his plays whether or not they, or things like them, were ever alive anywhere else. And if they seem, when abstractly considered, highly improbable, that only strengthens the tribute one is, in simple fairness, bound to pay to the imagination of a man who can make them credible. Perhaps this imagination is corrupt and perverted. Perhaps—though I don't think this is true—the world would be better off without Mr. Caldwell's vision of its corruption. But that is not the point. The point is that his imagination is creative in the most direct sense of the term. His creatures live, and no attempts at analysis can deprive them of their life.

"Journeyman" is concerned with the adventures of a fabulous traveling preacher (brilliantly played by Will Geer) who descends upon a remote Georgia community to drink its whiskey, seduce its women, arouse it to orgy in a revival meeting, and then disappear one morning in an automobile acquired by the aid of a beneficent Providence working through the instrumentality of a crap game. I have already remarked that the bawdiness of the play is bare enough to shock even a Broadway audience. I might add that I am inclined to doubt the literal truth of the play as a picture of rural Georgia for the simple reason that I find it hard to believe a people physically so depressed could be endued with so much lusty life. But neither, for that matter, do I find it easy to believe in the existence of Falstaff outside Shakespeare's plays, and the important fact is that in Mr. Caldwell is some power of story-telling by virtue of which I at least cannot choose but hear. Nor do I see how any attack upon him, whether upon moral or any other grounds, can hope to be effective if it does not begin by recognizing the primary fact that he has, to an extraordinary degree, the power to imagine. It is said that John Ruskin once refused to write an article against the "poisonous honey" of the young Swinburne. I am, he said, righter than he, just as the lamb is righter than the tiger. But I am no match for him. That was sound sense. Moral fervor usually ends by looking rather silly when it refuses to recognize the power of anything which has been solidly imagined.

Probably Mr. Caldwell will not thank me for defending him in such terms as these. For all I know, creative imagination may be the last thing he wants to be praised for and "truth to life"—whatever that may be—the only virtue for which he has any respect. But creative imagination is one of the rarest things in the world and probably rather rarer now than it usually is. Accuracy, right-thinking, good-will, even, perhaps, virtue itself are commoner. And Mr. Caldwell has creative imagination. JOSEPH WOOD KRUTCH

ART

Georges Schreiber's Work

THE exhibition of pure water colors and of drawings current at the A. C. A. Gallery reveals two very successful transplantations: those of a young artist and an artistic movement. The successfully transplanted young artist is Georges Schreiber, the well-known contributor to *The Nation, Fortune,* and other New York periodicals and newspapers. The successfully transplanted artistic movement is the New Objectivism of such leading German moderns as Otto Dix and George Grosz. For it is pretty largely in evolving the forms of its strident, mordant, uncouth, and strongly

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caricatural realism that Schreiber, who was born in Brussels and educated in Germany, and came to the United States in 1928, has found his function, and achieved the expressions of his own personality and the life of his new country which compose this striking exhibition.

In the general spirit of the movement, Schreiber has taken as his subject life in the raw. He has found it on poverty-stricken farms, in Nevada gambling joints, in the galleries of Madison Square Garden and cheap movies. He has seen it in those moments of transport—in brawls, crowd frenzy, violent love-play—which bring the rawest impulses naked to the surface; and depicted it in a spirit that to say the least is uncaressive and in instances verges upon pitiless caricature. And precisely as his subject matter is his own, so too is the drama with which he presents it. Particularly in his figure-pieces one finds his form full of nervous animation. To an unusual degree Schreiber possesses the ability to give movement to his human shapes. In instances he injects great force into these movements. An almost elemental fury informs the grappling figures in the drawing entitled The Brawl—that welcome neo-objectivist successor to the many slack and fatuous "broils" of salon days. In other pictures the artist has opposed dynamically moving figures less violently but quite as strongly to each other: especially in the gambling scene entitled The Card Players and in the ironical Hauptmann Jury. With these movements he reveals motives.

What in a deal of his work he brings to expression is unshackled murderousness, but a murderousness which is referred to social conditions and causes. In certain cases the association is with the figures of starving farmers and poor work-people, and the references point to a desperation born of famine. In the case of the Hauptmann jury picture, the references seem to connect the deadliness of the expressions with mass-psychology, hundred percentism, and the suspiciousness, the prejudice, and the intolerance projected upon all that is alien to the norm and singular. Other of the water colors convey with considerable satire excruciating sensations of vulgarity: in particular, The Second Balcony, which now is in the collection of the Whitney Museum, and In Elko Nevada 5 a. m. and Madison Square Garden, which are in the present exhibition. Of the three the last piece is perhaps the most effective expression of this quality in present-day existence Schreiber has achieved. The entire circumstance here depicted has been caught in visual terms, so completely, indeed, that the gestures and the garish colors make one almost hear the whistles and yells of the hard crowd.

Yet it is noteworthy that even in Schreiber's sharpest irony there is no great amount of venom—certainly far less than in that of Grosz—but some humor, and unmistakable traces of human sympathy for certain of his subjects. For this reason one feels that he may readily develop into the sort of social satirist our little community greatly requires. This is the sort of satirist who renders hypocrisy, stupidity, vulgarity, and all the other anti-social forces less odious than ridiculous: and thus makes for sociality in a way that hatefulness is impotent to attain. In the meanwhile there is enormous encouragement in the show's testimony to this young artist's recent technical growth. The water colors in it exhibiting his greatest mastery of the means—for example, Italian Family and the little Jeu d'Amour—are among his very latest. Here form and content are thoroughly united; the medium contributes its power freely to the expression; the paintings approach the absoluteness of art. And in these pictures the smoky reds have singular depth.

PAUL ROSENFELD

A behind-the-scenes account of the international poker game developing from Italy's imperial ambitions

Italy Against The World

by George Martelli

At a time when European events are increasingly tense, this complete and impartial account of Mussolini's conquest of Abyssinia and the international situation developing from it holds special interest. Reading it, one has no doubt of the roles played by the great nations involved. Moreover, the principal actors are well described—the dethroned Emperor, Mussolini, M. Laval, Messrs. Baldwin and Eden, Sir Samuel Hoare, and the principal Italian soldiers. Amazing stuff is taken from the disclosures of Marshal de Bono, who must have written his records under the impression that Americans and Britishers never read Italian. Also, here is a revealing account of the manoeuvrings at Geneva. The author in his capacity of correspondent to the London *Morning Post* was a witness to many of the events he describes. His book compares in some respects to Harold Nicolson's studies of European diplomacy.

"It is the virtue of Mr. Martelli's study that it supplies a case-history of a complete international episode, thereby bringing out a living picture of that complex in action."—*Walter Millis, N. Y. Herald Tribune.*

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RECORDS

ANOTHER outstanding work on Victor's special list is Mozart's String Quartet K. 428 (three records, $6.50); unfortunately a great deal that should be fine comes out coarse and insensitive in the playing of the Pro Arte Quartet. What the Mozart string-quartet texture should sound like can be heard in the performance of the Quartet K. 465 recorded by the Budapest Quartet. And from all this you will understand what I mean when I speak of a poor performance: I judge a performance by what it does to the music; and it is judging this way that I find fault with Cortot's playing of Chopin's Ballades (four records, $8), Waltzes (six records, $12), and Etudes Opus 10 (three records, $6.50): I like Chopin's music, but I don't like it when the shape of every phrase is distorted. In the same way, I like Schumann's "Fantasiestücke," but not when they are blurred as they are in Harold Bauer's performances (four records, $8). And Schumann's "Dichterliebe" as sung by Lotte Lehmann was an unforgettable experience, but as sung by the baritone Panzera to the mannered accompaniment of Cortot (three records, $6.50) the work does not come to life for me. However, some readers would like Panzera's fine voice, and I am sure that some think Cortot is a fine pianist; and so I add that the Chopin and "Dichterliebe" are well recorded.

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One album of the Victor special list assembles six ten-inch records ($9) made by Elisabeth Schumann. Three of these offer her art at its exquisite best in songs worthy of it: Hugo Wolf's "Nun wandre, Maria" and "Schlafendes Jesukind," Brahms's "Sandmännchen" and "Der Tod, das ist die kühle Nacht," and—all on one record—Schubert's "An die Nachtigall" and "Liebhaber in allen Gestalten" and Schumann's "Lorelei" and "Ständchen." Two others are devoted to less consequential songs by Beethoven, Grieg, and Smetana. And one offers a delivery of Brahms's "Immer leiser wird mein Schlummer" that is like caricature of Mme Schumann's art in the way it converts this art into exaggerated mannerism.

A song of Schubert or Wolf is a musical setting of a poem; and to appreciate the intimate relation of the substance and structure of the music to the lines and sometimes the individual words of the text one must know the poem—not just a summary but every word of the original German. The booklet accompanying an album of song-recordings should therefore give the texts of the poems even if it gives nothing else; actually the leaflets which accompany the "Dichterliebe" and Elisabeth Schumann albums give much else that one does best to ignore but not the texts of the poems.

So with the leaflets for other works. There are many persons who will approach the first movement of the Mozart Piano Concerto K. 459 with no idea of how its material is organized; and they would get more out of the movement if—not by word alone but by correlation of word with sound on record—they were enabled to perceive Mozart's use of what Tovey calls the concerto principle—the principle of opposition of unequal instrumental forces that is basic in the earlier concertos of Vivaldi, Händel, and Bach; to perceive further the use of this principle in the so-called sonata form of the first movement that achieved definition and perfection in the instrumental works of Haydn and Mozart; and to perceive finally an integration of all the detail of the movement that is as subtle and complete and tight as the integration of the thousands of brush strokes in a Cézanne canvas. But these persons will do better to take what their own ears get out of the movement unaided than to listen with this guidance of the Victor leaflet:

> The first movement is not, and hardly could be expected to be, in the conventional sonata form. This demanding structure was, at Mozart's time, scarcely solidified into a definite form. It was still highly plastic, almost liquid—which perhaps causes it to lend itself more aptly to the pliant nature of Mozart's music. But we must not expect to find here the substantial formal and tonal masses which the later Beethoven introduced into his heroic musical structures. The first movement, while it certainly contains all the material for a sonata, is by no means organized as such. Themes there are, and worthy of much exploitation; fragmentary incidents which could have been welded into a closely integrated whole, and brief, tentative developments which, exploited, might have achieved greatness and profundity. None of these things happen. The material is introduced, set forth in its most attractive tonal garb, and then, in many instances, discarded and forgotten.

This is to consider only one instance of the ignorance that clothes itself in the terms of erudition; it is not to consider at all the other qualities that make the leaflets good to start a fire with but not to read. Exceptions are some of the booklets written by men like Ernest Newman and Harvey Grace for English subscription sets—exceptions, that is, when they are issued with the American repressings, as they are by Columbia more often than by Victor.

B. H. HAGGIN

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FILMS

Artist of Anxiety

A COMMONPLACE about Alfred Hitchcock is that he has no peer among directors in the fine art of suspense. For most of his competitors, as for most story-tellers, it is in fact a gross art: we are kept waiting for the end and that is all. For Mr. Hitchcock there are as many ends as there are moments in the tale; even his means are ends; he polishes as he goes, lavishing as much skill upon details, and upon transitions between details, as upon the swift disastrous curve described by the whole. His material is melodrama, and he does not mind if the examples of it which come to his hand are relatively empty; he even prefers them thus, since then he is freer to be the virtuoso he naturally and by discipline is. The virtuoso of suspense; or, by a further refinement, of anxiety. For his special distinction is that he knows perfectly how to worry us and keep us worried. If there were time to do so we might reflect that it did not matter whether the young man ever reached Mr. Memory ("The Thirty-Nine Steps"), or whether the bomb ever got to the point where it would do the most public mischief ("The Woman Alone"). But Mr. Hitchcock sees to it that we do not reflect; he makes us as restless as the hero is, and keeps our anxiety identical with his until the sudden moment when the mystery dissipates.

The new Hitchcock film now about to be released in America, "The Girl Was Young" (Gaumont British), is perhaps not as good as the best of its predecessors, but it is better than any current melodrama and it is typical of Mr. Hitchcock. The situation here is that the hero (Derrick de Marney) must find his stolen raincoat before he can prove to the English police that it could not have been his raincoat belt which strangled Christine Day. The fact that when he finds the coat its belt is missing does not for the moment matter; another pursuit begins then, and that is not the good one, Mr. Hitchcock's conclusion for once failing in a measure to come off. The pursuit of the coat is also a flight from the police, undertaken with the hazardous help of none other than the chief constable's daughter (Nova Pilbeam), a marked girl. If the two of them can keep far enough ahead of the law they *may* come into the only evidence which would stop it in its tracks. Were there time to think—but again there is no time to do anything except urge on the boy and girl with our enlisted nerves and groan at each unexpected delay. For of course there are devilish delays. At Tom's Hat, where the raincoat was stolen, a free-for-all fight threatens to hold up everything; at the house of Erica's aunt, where the couple think to invest a precious three minutes establishing an alibi, children playing blind man's bluff draw the newcomers into their game and will not let them go; at the lodging house where Old Will, the fellow last seen with the raincoat, is scheduled to spend the night the boy himself falls asleep from exhaustion and wakes up the next morning almost too late for his purpose; and so on. I speak of the children's game although I have not seen it; it has been cut out of the present version. Yet plenty of what remains is good, and the whole can be recommended to those who can take their excitement straight.

"The River" is in New York at last, at the Criterion, and should be seen by literally everybody.

MARK VAN DOREN

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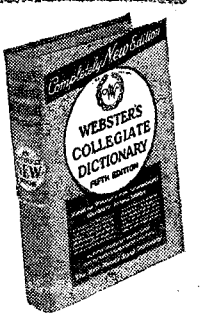

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Letters to the Editors

Boycott Heat and War Fever

Dear Sirs: Opinions differ as to whether a boycott will really do enough financial hurt to send the Japanese back home. What this old subscriber particularly regrets is to see his favorite weekly ignore the fact that the boycott movement is playing the game of the war-makers by encouraging national and racial hates. With apparent approval you tell how children in a settlement house returned Japanese-made Christmas gifts, thus testifying to "the children's hatred of war." Are you not idealizing? Perhaps the children hate not war but Japanese war-making, or even the Japanese. Is it the injustice to China which is actually moving our millions, or is it injury to America?

Somehow I cannot help recalling how President Wilson said in all sincerity in 1917, "We have no quarrel with the German people." Did this keep us from shooting Germans and from trying to starve noncombatants by a blockade? To wage that war, moods had to be unleashed which prevented the making of a sane peace. Will a widespread anti-Japanese movement help America to consider soberly now the President's request for increased armament?

You regret that the Panay incident was made to serve an inflammatory purpose and that the running comment on the newsreels in the theaters "was assuredly not intended to cool fevered brows." Do you think that millions of consumers can be kept at boycott heat for at least a year without creating moods which *The Nation* has usually been eager to prevent?

HENRY NEUMANN

Brooklyn, N. Y., February 3

Visas for Liberals

Dear Sirs: In the January 22 issue of *The Nation* appears a protest signed by forty-five "liberals" against your editorial policy on collective security. The list of signers reads like a veritable who's who of liberal impersonators. Among the distinguished mummers I note Mr. Bertram D. Wolfe, who in real life is educational director of the Lovestonite Party, otherwise known as the Communist League. Also Mr. Charles S. Zimmerman, whose Lovestonite affiliations are surely no secret. Also Mr. Norman Thomas and Mr. Harry W. Laidler, who according to unconfirmed rumors are said to be members of the Socialist Party. Also the Misses Mary Fox and Molly Yard, who offstage are Socialist Carrie Nations guarding the proletarian habits of their party. Also James Rorty and Edmund Wilson and Philip Rahv and James T. Farrell and Lewis Corey—would anyone guess from their smooth-shaven liberal chins that they were really bewhiskered "Old Bolsheviks" who left the Stalinist camp in disgust when it began to flirt with liberalism and reformism? Also the Misses Suzanne La Follette and Anita Brenner, who have raged in the columns of *The Nation* against the bourgeois Loyalist government for shadowboxing with Franco instead of immediately establishing communism in Spain. Also the learned Drs. Sidney Hook and Louis M. Hacker, who freely admit that they are the only accredited American interpreters of that famous liberal economist, the late Karl Marx. All in all it is the most complete collection of "liberals" ever corraled in a petition. There was only one distinguished liberal whose name I looked for in vain. It was Mr. Leon Trotsky.

Now it would be pleasant to continue in this jocose vein and assume that no one will be taken in by this ideological masquerade. Boys will be boys and "Marxists" will have their fling. But the matter cannot be dismissed facetiously. Apparently *The Nation* was taken in or it would have not featured the protest on its cover as "A Letter from Forty-five Liberals."

Sooner or later the contending factions of the left will be forced to unite into a people's front against fascism. Liberalism can play an important part in bringing this about by acting as a trusted umpire of factional friction. But if it permits any left faction to fly its flag as a decoy, it throws the whole movement into ideological confusion and delays the process of clarification which must precede unity.

I want to close with a practical proposal—for another Nyon conference to deal with piracy on the political high seas by Jolly Rogers flying liberal flags. Let the liberal publications get together and draft a system of ideological passports for all those who wish to register as liberals. The qualifications shall be as liberal as possible. Anyone shall be considered a liberal unless there is evidence to the contrary, and be furnished with a passport which will entitle him to sign petitions and protests as a liberal. But as soon as the holder of such a passport aligns himself with any Socialist or Communist faction, he shall be enjoined from signing protests or posing as a liberal in any other way.

ALTER BRODY

New York, January 28

Honor Enough for All

Dear Sirs: In a recent issue of *The Nation* I was named as one of those on the 1937 Honor Roll for work done by the Federal Writers' in connection with the American Guide Series. I understand, of course, that I was selected merely as representing the more than three thousand workers on the project, and that this honor was really intended for all of us. I am sure the editors of *The Nation* fully realize that the Guide Series is the product of a great cooperative undertaking and that no one person can take exclusive credit for its success.

Since it is impossible to list by name all the workers, I take the liberty of singling out here a few of those who have done especially distinguished work on the project.

From the Washington staff: Reed Harris, assistant director, whose organizing ability has insured the smooth functioning of the project in spite of serious administrative difficulties; George Cronyn, who for a long time has had large editorial responsibilities for copy coming in from all parts of the country; Katharine Kellock, in charge of all tour copy; Joseph Gaer, who pushed a number of our most important books through publication; Edward Barrows, now carrying the chief editorial responsibility; Roderick Seidenberg, for his intelligent handling of the architectural material; Waldo Browne, for his keen and sensitive editorial supervision; Sterling Brown, for his able handling of material concerning the American Negro and Negro folklore.

In the states: John T. Frederick (Ill.), Jeannette Eckman (Del.), Charles Finger (Ark.), James Hopper (Cal.),

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Ray Billington (Mass.), Dana Doten (Vt.), Charles Ernest White (N. H.), Jarvis Morse (R. I.), Edwin Bjorkman (N. C.), William T. Couch (N. C.), Bertrand M. Wainger (N. Y.), John Derby (Conn.), Lisle Reese (S. D.), Ethel Schlasinger (N. D.), Irene Fuhlbruegge (N. J.), Dr. Mabel Ulrich (Minn.), J. Harris Gable (Neb.), Eri Douglass (Miss.), Dr. U. R. Bell (Ky.), Eudora Ramsey Richardson (Va.), Alexander Crosby (N. J.), Merle Colby (Mass.), Vincent McHugh (N. Y. C.), Robert Muir (Cal.), Leon Dorais (Cal.), Grant M. Sassaman (Pa.), Edward Radenzel (Cal.), Lyle Saxon (La.), Ross Santee (Ariz.), J. Frank Davis (Texas), and Vardis Fisher (Idaho).

HENRY G. ALSBERG,
Director, Federal Writers' Project

Washington, February 2

No Excuse for France

Dear Sirs: I agree with Professor Albert Guérard (see his letter in *The Nation* of December 25) that England has the greatest responsibility for the present state of Europe. I cannot, however, agree with him that successive French governments are not to be blamed for policies disastrous alike to France and to Europe, because they adopted those policies to please the British government. Would Professor Guérard consider that an individual was right to commit suicide at the request of his next-door neighbor?

I deny the assumption that French governments have had to choose between breaking with England and submitting to the dictation of the British Foreign Office. They could perfectly well have had a policy of their own and yet have remained on good terms with England. Speaking of the capitulation of the Sarraut Cabinet when Hitler violated the Treaty of Locarno in March, 1936, an official of the British Foreign Office said about a year ago: "What fools the French were to consult us! If they had acted, we should have been obliged to follow."

I have criticized the foreign policy of both right and left governments in France, when I believed it to be mistaken. Louis Barthou was Foreign Minister in a government whose policy in home affairs I detested, but I supported his foreign policy because it seemed to me to be a wise one. When the Popular Front government came into power in June, 1936, I was one of those who hoped that Léon Blum would retrieve the blunders of previous governments, notably those of Laval, and restore the situation in Europe. His failure has been a profound sorrow to me, but I cannot allow my friendship for him to blind me to the fact that he has failed.

Professor Guérard is mistaken in thinking that the blunders of Daladier and Chautemps in 1933 "were committed with open eyes and a heavy heart." On the contrary, Daladier believed that he was going to reconcile France and Germany and secure perpetual peace. The Four-Power Pact became inoperative, not because of French reservations, but because France never ratified it.

ROBERT DELL

Geneva, Switzerland, January 20

O. K. but —

Dear Sirs: As a member of the Department of Labor Employees' Conciliation Committee from the A. F. G. E. (A. F. of L.) lodge, I want to comment on the article by Spero and Puner entitled Uncle Sam, Privileged Boss, in your issue of January 8. Their description of the set-up and functioning of the committee is O. K., but—

First, there is nothing compulsory about referring cases to the committee. Second, the secretary might reject a nominee from one of our three unions, but never has. Third, it is equally possible that the committee might decide a case against an employee, but even that hasn't happened yet.

Obviously if the U. F. W. A. (C. I. O.) dislikes for sentimental reasons to have grievances of its members considered by a committee of eleven containing four members from other unions, it has so many other avenues of negotiation open to it that its attempts to sabotage the entire Conciliation Committee were unreasonable.

T. J. MEAD

Washington, January 24

Cooperative Book Club

Dear Sirs: Christopher Lazare, in his discussion of "two events of major interest in the publishing world" in your January 22 issue, overlooked one recent occurrence of great significance—the formation of a national cooperative of book buyers. This organization, the Cooperative Book Club, Inc., recently opened offices at 118 East Twenty-eighth Street, New York City.

Organized on true Rochdale principles, the C. B. C. is supplying members with current books of all publishers at list price, postpaid. Savings-returns will be paid to each member in proportion to his purchases. By this device members will be freed to a considerable extent from the increasing "stabilization" of book prices at budget-draining levels. Reviews and lists of recommended books appear monthly in C. B. C.'s *Reader's Observer,* which members receive free of charge. When the membership enrolment warrants it, the club's program will be greatly widened. A committee will select one book each month to be made available to members at a special price, and the club will sponsor discussion groups, forums, and lectures.

ALBERT HORLINGS

New York, February 2

CONTRIBUTORS

E. S. McLEOD is the pseudonym of a Canadian journalist.

ERNEST DAVIES is a British Labor economist. He has just published a booklet entitled "How Much Compensation?" which studies in detail the problem of the transfer of industry from private to public ownership.

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